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NAMS

The World's Famous Orations

VOL. VII

CONTINENTAL EUROPE

380 – 1906

THE WORLD'S FAMOUS ORATIONS

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN
EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

FRANCIS W. HALSEY
ASSOCIATE EDITOR

IN TEN VOLUMES

Vol. VII
CONTINENTAL EUROPE

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VOL. VII

CONTINENTAL EUROPE

880—1906

PART I

EARLY CHRISTIANITY

ST. CHRYSOSTOM

THE BLESSINGS OF DEATH[1]

(About 380)

Born in 347, died in 407; Presbyter at Antioch about 385; made Patriarch of Constantinople in 398; exiled to Cappadocia in 404.

BELIEVE me, I am ashamed and blush to see unbecoming groups of women pass along the mart, tearing their hair, cutting their arms and cheeks, and all this under the eyes of the Greeks. For what will they not say? What will they not utter concerning us? Are these the men who philosophize about a resurrection? Indeed! How poorly their actions agree with their opinions! In words, they philosophize about a resurrection: but they act just like those who do not acknowledge a resurrection. If they fully believed in a resurrection, they would not act thus; if they had really persuaded themselves that a deceased friend had departed to a better state, they would not mourn. These things, and more than these, the unbelievers say when they hear those

[1] From one of his sermons preached while a presbyter at Antioch, where Chrysostom won high reputation for preaching and especially by his homilies on the "Statutes" of the Emperor Theodosius. His works, consisting mainly of homilies, commentaries, treatises, epistles, and liturgies, in the best edition (folio, Paris, 1718–1738) comprise thirteen volumes. Translations of some of the homilies and commentaries are given in the Oxford "Library of the Fathers."

lamentations. Let us then be ashamed, and be more moderate, and not occasion so much harm to ourselves and to those who are looking on us.

For on what account, tell me, do you thus weep for one departed? Because he was a bad man? You ought on that very account to be thankful, since the occasions of wickedness are now cut off. Because he was good and kind? If so, you ought to rejoice; since he has been soon removed, before wickedness had corrupted him: and he has gone away to a world where he stands ever secure, and there is no room even to mistrust a change. Because he was a youth? For that, too, praise Him who has taken him, because He has speedily called him to a better lot. Because he was an aged man? On this account, also, give thanks and glorify Him that has taken him. Be ashamed of your manner of burial. The singing of psalms, the prayers, the assembling of the [spiritual] fathers and brethren—all this is not that you may weep and lament and afflict yourselves, but that you may render thanks to Him who has taken the departed. For as when men are called to some high office multitudes with praises on their lips assemble to escort them at their departure to their stations, so do all with abundant praise join to send forward, as to greater honor, those of the pious who have departed.

Death is rest; a deliverance from the exhausting labors and cares of this world. When, then, thou seest a relative departing, yield not to des-

pondency; give thyself to reflection; examine thy conscience; cherish the thought that after a little while this end awaits thee also. Be more considerate; let another's death excite thee to salutary fear; shake off all indolence; examine your past deeds; quit your sins, and commence a happy change.

We differ from unbelievers in our estimate of things. The unbeliever surveys the heavens and worships it because he thinks it a divinity; he looks to the earth and makes himself a servant to it, and longs for the things of sense. But not so with us. We survey the Heaven, and admire Him that made it; for we believe it not to be a god, but a work of God. I look on the whole creation and am led by it to the Creator. He looks on wealth and longs for it with earnest desire; I look on wealth and contemn it. He sees poverty and laments; I see poverty and rejoice. I see things in one light; he in another.

Just so in regard to death. He sees a corpse and thinks of it as a corpse; I see a corpse and behold sleep rather than death. And as in regard to books, both learned persons and unlearned see them with the same eyes, but not with the same understanding—for to the unlearned the mere shapes of letters appear, while the learned discover the sense that lies within those letters; so in respect to affairs in general, we all see what takes place with the same eyes, but not with the same understanding and judgment. Since, therefore, in all other things we

differ from them, shall we agree with them in our sentiments respecting death?

Consider to whom the departed has gone and take comfort. He has gone where Paul is, and Peter, and the whole company of the saints. Consider how he shall arise, and with what glory and splendor!

ST. AUGUSTINE

ON THE LORD'S PRAYER[1]

Born in 354, died in 430; settled in Rome in 383 and in Milan in 384; made Bishop of Hippo in 395; his "Confessions," published in 397, his "De Civitate Dei" in 426.

THE Son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ, hath taught us a prayer; and tho He be the Lord Himself, as ye have heard and repeated in the creed, the only Son of God, yet He would not be alone. He is the only Son, and yet would not be alone; He hath vouchsafed to have brethren. For to whom doth He say: "Our Father which art in Heaven?" Whom did He wish us to call our Father save His own Father? Did He grudge us this? Parents sometimes, when they have gotten one, or two, or three children, fear to give birth to any more lest they reduce the rest to beggary. But because the inheritance which He promised us is such as many may possess and no one be straitened, therefore hath He called into His brotherhood the peoples of the nations; and the only Son hath numberless brethren who say, "Our Father which art in Heaven." So said they who have been before

[1] Translated for the Oxford "Library of the Fathers." Abridged. The best edition of St. Augustine's complete works in the original is that published by the Benedictines in eleven volumes (folio, Paris, 679–1800); reissued in 1836–38 as twenty-two volumes.

us; and so shall say those who will come after us. See how many brethren the only Son hath in His grace, sharing His inheritance with those for whom He suffered death. We had a father and mother on earth, that we might be born to labors and to death: but we have found other parents, God our Father, and the Church our Mother, by whom we are born unto life eternal. Let us then consider, beloved, whose children we have begun to be; and let us live so as becomes those who have such a Father. See how that our Creator had condescended to be our Father!

We have heard whom we ought to call upon and with what hope of an eternal inheritance we have begun to have a Father in Heaven; let us now hear what we must ask of Him. Of such a Father what shall we ask? Do we not ask rain of Him to-day, and yesterday, and the day before? This is no great thing to have asked of such a Father, and yet ye see with what sighings and with what great desire we ask for rain when death is feared—when that is feared which none can escape. For sooner or later every man must die, and we groan, and pray, and travail in pain, and cry to God that we may die a little later. How much more ought we to cry to Him that we may come to that place where we shall never die!

Therefore is it said, "Hallowed by Thy name." This we also ask of Him that His name may be hallowed in us; for holy is it always. And how is His name hallowed in us except while it makes us holy? For once we were not holy, and we are

made holy by His name; but He is always holy, and His name always holy. It is for ourselves, not for God, that we pray. For we do not wish well to God, to whom no ill can ever happen. But we wish what is good for ourselves, that His holy name may be hallowed, that that which is always holy may be hallowed in us.

"Thy kingdom come." Come it surely will, whether we ask or no. Indeed, God hath an eternal kingdom. For when did He not reign? When did He begin to reign? For His kingdom hath no beginning, neither shall it have any end. But that ye may know that in this prayer also we pray for ourselves and not for God (for we do not say "Thy kingdom come" as tho we were asking that God may reign), we shall be ourselves His kingdom if, believing in Him, we make progress in this faith. All the faithful, redeemed by the blood of His only Son, will be His kingdom. And this His kingdom will come when the resurrection of the dead shall have taken place; for then He will come Himself. And when the dead are arisen He will divide them, as He Himself saith, "and He shall set some on the right hand and some on the left." To those who shall be on the right hand He will say, "Come, ye blessed of My Father, receive the kingdom." This is what we wish and pray for when we say, "Thy kingdom come,"—that it may come to us. For if we shall be reprobates that kingdom will come to others, but not to us. But if we shall be of that number who belong to

the members of His only-begotten Son, His kingdom will come to us and will not tarry. For are there as many ages yet remaining as have already passed away?

"Thy will be done as in Heaven, so in earth." The third thing we pray for is that His will may be done as in Heaven so in earth. And in this, too, we wish well for ourselves. For the will of God must necessarily be done. It is the will of God that the good should reign and the wicked be damned. Is it possible that this will should not be done? But what good do we wish ourselves when we say, "Thy will be done as in Heaven, so in earth?" Give ear. For this petition may be understood in many ways, and many things are to be in our thoughts in this petition when we pray God, "Thy will be done as in Heaven, so in earth." As Thy angels offend Thee not, so may we also not offend Thee. Again, how is "Thy will be done as in Heaven, so in earth," understood? All the holy patriarchs, all the prophets, all the apostles, all the spiritual are, as it were, God's Heaven; and we in comparison of them are earth. "Thy will be done as in Heaven, so in earth"; as, in them, so in us also. Again, "Thy will be done as in Heaven, so in earth"; The Church of God is Heaven, His enemies are earth. So we wish well for our enemies, that they, too, may believe and become Christians, and so the will of God be done as in Heaven, so also in earth. Again, "Thy will be done as in Heaven, so in earth." Our spirit is

Heaven and the flesh earth; as our spirit is renewed by believing, so may our flesh be renewed by rising again, and "the will of God be done as in Heaven, so in earth."

There remain now the petitions for this life of our pilgrimage; therefore follows, "Give us this day our daily bread." Give us eternal things, give us things temporal. Thou hast promised a kingdom, deny us not the means of subsistence. Thou wilt give everlasting glory with Thyself hereafter, give us in this earth temporal support. Therefore is it "day by day," and "to-day"—that is, in this present time. For when this life shall have passed away shall we ask for daily bread then? For then it will not be called "day by day," but "to-day." Now it is called "day by day" when one day passes away and another day succeeds. Will it be called "day by day" when there will be one eternal day? This petition for daily bread is doubtless to be understood in two ways, both for the necessary supply of our bodily food and for the necessities of our spiritual support. There is a necessary supply of bodily food for the preservation of our daily life, without which we can not live. This is food and clothing, but the whole is understood in a part. When we ask for bread we thereby understand all things. There is a spiritual food also which the faithful know; which ye too will know when ye shall receive it at the altar of God. This also is "daily bread," necessary only for this life.

Again, what I am handling before you now is "daily bread"; and the daily lessons which ye hear in church are daily bread, and the hymns ye hear and repeat are daily bread. For all these are necessary in our state of pilgrimage. But when we shall have got to Heaven shall we hear the Word, we who shall see the Word Himself, and hear the Word Himself, and eat and drink Him as the angels do now? Do the angels need books, and interpreters, and readers? Surely not. They read in seeing, for the Truth itself they see and are abundantly satisfied from that fountain from which we obtain some few drops. Therefore, has it been said, touching our daily bread, that this petition is necessary for us in this life.

"Forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors." Is this necessary except in this life? For in the other we shall have no debts. For what are debts but sins? See, ye are on the point of being baptized; then all your sins will be blotted out: none whatever will remain. Whatever evil ye have done, in deed, or word, or desire, or thought, all will be blotted out. And yet if in the life which is after baptism there were security from sin, we should not learn such a prayer as this, "Forgive us our debts." Only let us by all means do what comes next, "As we forgive our debtors."

"Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil." Will this, again, be necessary in the life to come? "Lead us not into temptation"

will not be said except where there can be temptation. We read in the book of holy Job, "Is not the life of man upon earth a temptation?" What, then, do we pray for? Hear what. The apostle James saith, "Let no man say when he is tempted, I am tempted of God." He spoke of those evil temptations whereby men are deceived and brought under the yoke of the devil. This is the kind of temptation he spoke of. For there is another sort of temptation which is called a proving; of this kind of temptation it is written, "The Lord your God tempteth (proveth) you to know whether ye love Him." What means "to know?" "To make you know," for He knoweth already. With that kind of temptation whereby we are deceived and seduced, God tempteth no man.

What, then, has He hereby taught us? To fight against our lusts. For ye are about to put away your sins in holy baptism; but lusts will still remain, wherewith ye must fight after that ye are regenerate. For a conflict with your own selves still remains. Let no enemy from without be feared: conquer thine own self, and the whole world is conquered. What can any tempter from without, whether the devil or the devil's minister, do against thee? Whosoever sets the hope of gain before thee to seduce thee, let him only find no covetousness in thee; and what can he who would tempt thee by gain effect? Whereas, if covetousness be found in thee, thou takest fire at the sight of gain, and art taken by the bait of

this corrupt food; but if he find no covetousness in thee the trap remains spread in vain.

Or should the tempter set before thee some woman of surpassing beauty; if chastity be within, iniquity from without is overcome. Therefore, that he may not take thee with the bait of a strange woman's beauty, fight with thine own lust within; thou hast no sensible perception of thine enemy, but of thine own concupiscence thou hast. Thou dost not see the devil, but the object that engageth thee thou dost see. Get the mastery, then, over that of which thou art sensible within. Fight valiantly, for He who hath regenerated thee is thy Judge; He hath arranged the lists, He is making ready the crown.

And truly it is a great temptation, dearly beloved, it is a great temptation in this life, when that in us is the subject of temptation whereby we obtain pardon if, in any of our temptations, we have fallen. It is a frightful temptation when that is taken from us whereby we may be healed from the wounds of other temptations. I know that ye have not yet understood me. Give me your attention that ye may understand. Suppose avarice tempts a man and he is conquered in any single temptation (for sometimes even a good wrestler and fighter may get roughly handled): avarice, then, has got the better of a man, good wrestler tho he be, and he has done some avaricious act. Or there has been a passing lust; it has not brought the man to fornication nor reached unto adultery—for when this

does take place the man must at all events be kept back from the criminal act. But he "hath seen a woman to lust after her": he has let his thoughts dwell on her with more pleasure than was right; he has admitted the attack; excellent combatant tho he be, he has been wounded, but he has not consented to it; he has beaten back the motion of his lust, has chastised it with the bitterness of grief; he has beaten it back, and has prevailed. Still, in the very fact that he had slipped has he ground for saying, "Forgive us our debts." And so of all other temptations, it is a hard matter that in them all there should not be occasion for saying, "Forgive us our debts."

What, then, is that frightful temptation which I have mentioned, that grievous, that tremendous temptation, which must be avoided with all our strength, with all our resolution; what is it? When we go about to avenge ourselves. Anger is kindled and the man burns to be avenged. Oh, frightful temptation! Thou art losing that whereby thou hadst to attain pardon for other faults. If thou hadst committed any sin as to other senses and other lusts, hence mightst thou have had thy cure in that thou mightst say, "Forgive us our debts, as we also forgive our debtors." But whoso instigateth thee to take vengeance will lose for thee the power thou hadst to say, "As we also forgive our debtors." When that power is lost all sins will be retained; nothing at all is remitted.

Our Lord and Master and Savior, knowing

this dangerous temptation in this life when He taught us six or seven petitions in this prayer, took none of them for Himself to treat of and to commend to us with greater earnestness than this one.

ABELARD

THE DIVINE TRAGEDY[1]

Born in 1079, died in 1142; had taught with marked success in Melun and Paris when, on being compelled to burn one of his books, he resumed preaching in an oratory built for him by his students; Abbot of St. Gildas from 1125 until 1134; condemned for heresy in 1140, but afterward reconciled to his accusers; represented the spirit of free inquiry in theology, but remembered now chiefly for his romance with Heloise.

WHETHER, therefore, Christ is spoken of as about to be crowned or about to be crucified it is said that He "went forth"; to signify that the Jews, who were guilty of so great wickedness against Him, were given over to reprobation, and that His grace would now pass to the vast extent of the Gentiles, where the salvation of the Cross and His own exaltation by the gain of many peoples, in the place of the one nation of the Jews, has extended itself. Whence, also, to-day we rightly go forth to adore the Cross in the open plain, showing mystically that both glory and salvation had departed from the Jews and had spread themselves among the Gentiles. But in that we afterward returned [in procession] to the place whence we had set forth, we signify that in the end of the world the grace of God

[1] From a sermon translated from the Latin by Rev. John Mason Neale.

will return to the Jews; namely, when, by the preaching of Enoch and Elijah, they shall be converted to Him.

Whence the apostle: "I would not, brethren, that ye should be ignorant of this mystery, that blindness in part has fallen upon Israel, until the fulness of the Gentiles shall be come, and so all Israel shall be saved." Whence the place itself of Calvary, where the Lord was crucified, is now, as we know, contained in the city; whereas formerly it was without the walls. "The crown wherewith His Mother crowned Him in the day of His espousals, and in the day of the gladness of His Heart." For thus kings are wont to exhibit their glory when they betroth queens to themselves and celebrate the solemnities of their nuptials. Now the day of the Lord's crucifixion was, as it were, the day of His betrothal; because it was then that He associated the Church to Himself as His bride, and on the same day descended into Hell, and setting free the souls of faithful, accomplished in them that which He had promised to the thief: "Verily I say unto thee, to-day shalt thou be with me in Paradise."

"To-day," He says, of the gladness of His heart, because in His body He suffered the torture of pain; but while the flesh inflicted on Him torments through the outward violence of men His soul was filled with joy on account of our salvation, which He thus brought to pass. Whence, also, when He went forth to His cruci-

fixion He stilled the women that were lamenting Him and said, "Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me, but weep for yourselves and your children." As if He said, "Grieve not for me in these my sufferings, as if by their means I should fall into any real destruction; but rather lament for that heavy vengeance which hangs over you and your children because of that which they have committed against me."

So we, also, brethren, which rather weep for ourselves than for Him; and for the faults which we have committed, not for the punishments which He bore. Let us so rejoice with Him and for Him, as to grieve for our own offenses, and for that the guilty servant committed the transgression, while the innocent Lord bore the punishment. He taught us to weep who is never said to have wept for Himself, tho He wept for Lazarus when about to raise him from the dead.

ST. BERNARD

WHY ANOTHER CRUSADE?[1]

(About 1145)

Born in 1091, died in 1153; made Abbot of Clairvaux in 1115; refused many offers of preferment, but exercised strong influence on the church politics of Europe; procured the condemnation of Abelard's writings in 1140; promoted the Second Crusade of 1146.

YOU can not but know that we live in a period of chastisement and ruin; the enemy of mankind has caused the breath of corruption to fly over all regions; we behold nothing but unpunished wickedness. The laws of men or the laws of religion have no longer sufficient power to check depravity of manners and the triumph of the wicked. The demon of heresy has taken possession of the chair of truth, and God has sent forth His malediction upon His sanctuary.

Oh, ye who listen to me, hasten then to appease the anger of Heaven, but no longer implore His goodness by vain complaints; clothe not yourselves in sackcloth, but cover yourselves with your impenetrable bucklers; the din of arms, the dangers, the labors, the fatigues of war are the penances that God now imposes upon you.

[1] From a sermon given in part in the English edition of Michaud's "History of the Crusades." Bernard had been delegated by the pope to preach the Second Crusade, which ended in complete disaster to the army sent out by Europe.

Hasten then to expiate your sins by victories over the infidels, and let the deliverance of holy places be the reward of your repentance.

If it were announced to you that the enemy had invaded your cities, your castles, your lands; had ravished your wives and your daughters, and profaned your temples—which among you would not fly to arms? Well, then, all these calamities, and calamities still greater, have fallen upon your brethren, upon the family of Jesus Christ, which is yours. Why do you hesitate to repair so many evils—to revenge so many outrages? Will you allow the infidels to contemplate in peace the ravages they have committed on Christian people? Remember that their triumph will be a subject for grief to all ages and an eternal opprobrium upon the generation that has endured it. Yes, the living God has charged me to announce to you that He will punish them who shall not have defended Him against His enemies.

Fly then to arms; let a holy rage animate you in the fight, and let the Christian world resound with these words of the prophet, "Cursed be he who does not stain his sword with blood!" If the Lord calls you to the defense of His heritage think not that His hand has lost its power. Could He not send twelve legions of angels or breathe one word and all His enemies would crumble away into dust? But God has considered the sons of men, to open for them the road to His mercy. His goodness has caused to dawn for

you a day of safety by calling on you to avenge His glory and His name.

Christian warriors, He who gave His life for you, to-day demands yours in return. These are combats worthy of you, combats in which it is glorious to conquer and advantageous to die. Illustrious knights, generous defenders of the Cross, remember the example of your fathers who conquered Jerusalem, and whose names are inscribed in Heaven; abandon then the things that perish, to gather unfading palms, and conquer a Kingdom which has no end.

Part II

THE REFORMATION

SAVONAROLA

I

A REPORT ON HIS EMBASSY TO THE KING[1]

(1495)

Born in 1452, died in 1498; became a Monk in Bologna in 1475; Prior of St. Mark's in Florence in 1491; secured the overthrow of the Medici, and the restoration of the Republic in 1494, being virtually Dictator; excommunicated in 1497; strangled and burned at the stake in 1498.

HERE I am once more among you. You ask me: "Father, have you brought us some good news?" Yes, good news; I bring nothing but good news. You know that in time of prosperity I brought you bad news, and now, in your tribulation, I bring nothing but good news. Good news for Florence! Bad news for other places! "Oh, but we want to know more, Father. Can you give us particulars?" Well, do you not think that it is a good piece of news that Florence has begun to return to a Christian way of living? For a good life is the truest happiness; and happiness is only to be found where men live well and fear God.

[1] Delivered in Florence in 1495 on his return from Poggibonsi, whence he had gone on an informal embassy to Charles VIII., king of France. These translations from Savonarola appear in the "Life of Savonarola," by Herbert Lucas, S. J., published in London in 1905, by Messrs. Sands & Co., by whose kind permission these passages are printed here.

I have been yonder in the camp, which is like being in hell. Do not ever allow yourself to desire to be a great lord, for such men never have an hour of true peace and happiness.

Moreover, do you not think it a piece of good news that God has lifted the cloud from over you and has sent it over others? But you say: "It is we who have caused it to move on." This is just what I told you that you would say, attributing all to your own prudence. But I tell you now that your prayers have been the wind which has driven away this cloud. It is the hand of God which has done it all. "But we want to know more, Father. You have been to the king. Have you nothing to tell us?" Nay, I was not your ambassador. I had no commission from the Signiory or from the Ten, tho I was asked to go by some friends. So, not having been sent by you, I have no occasion to report to you the results of my embassy. I have reported it to Him who sent me. But I will tell you this: I went, and I sowed good seed, which in its time will sprout and grow, and you shall gather the harvest and shall eat. "Oh, Father, this is a parable; we want plain words." Well, then, I will explain it. I went on your behalf and out of the love which I bear to you. Do you think I would risk my life were I not certain of the truth of the things which I tell you?

I went to his majesty and I told him certain things which if he shall do it will be well with him—well for his soul and for his kingdom and

for his subjects. I told him that he must stand well with Florence, and act well by Florence, and that if he would not do it for love he should do it perforce; that if he should so act it will be well with him, but woe to him if he does not so act; and I told him in detail (tho I will not tell you, for it is not fitting that I should) what will befall him. He heard me with kindness and promised me to do what I bade him, and he promised it to you, and I tell you again that if he does not fulfil what he has promised *per amore* he shall do it perforce. And it is God Himself, who speaks in me, who will make him do it.

This I say in conclusion, that God has opened His hand to this "barber,"[1] the king of France, and has given him all that he wanted in Italy; but if he fails to do what I have told him, I tell you, and I would have all the world to know, that God will withdraw His hand. And if he fails to perform for the Florentines what I have bidden him to do, nevertheless we shall have everything, if not of his good will, then perforce. Meanwhile our arms must be prayer and fasting.

[1] Mr. Lucas explains that this is an allusion to the "hired razor" of Isaiah vii: 20. It was one of Savonarola's favorite predictions that God would send "many barbers" into Italy, of whom Charles VIII. was only the first.

II

AFTER HIS EXCOMMUNICATION[1]

(1498)

I TELL you that whoso opposes this work opposes Christ. Understand me well, O Rome! Whoso opposes this work opposes Christ. O Italy! Whoso opposes this work opposes Christ, O Christian people! If you oppose it you are fighting against Christ, and not against the friar. If you say that the priests of the Church are gathered together against me, I reply that this has come to pass that the prophecies might be fulfilled, even as in our Lord's passion many things were done that the Scriptures might be fulfilled. In this, your hour, you make me perforce a prophet; for you know well that long ago, and repeatedly, I foretold the opposition of the priesthood and of the wicked.

And I tell you that a new time is coming; and great wars are at hand and we must sustain a more severe contest than that in which we are now engaged. O Lord, I do not ask for peace. War! war! war! is my cry. War, I mean, with the devil; for it is enough to be at peace with Christ. As for the excommunication,

[1] From his sermon on Septuagesima Sunday, 1498 (Feb. 11th), preached in the Duomo of Florence, "notwithstanding," says Lucas, "the efforts made by the vicar-general to prevent this." Savonarola's arrest followed in April of this year.

which is said by some to be null in the sight of God, but externally binding, it is enough for me that I am not bound in the sight of Christ (da Christo), and that He should bless me. Oh, my Lord, I turn to Thee and I say: If ever I should seek absolution from this excommunication send me to help! I should fear to commit a mortal sin were I to seek absolution.

As for those who fear lest they, too, should incur excommunication by coming to hear my sermons, I ask: Is it a sin to preach? Is preaching a crime? If the author of the excommunication were to say so he would contradict the Gospel. Oh, but you say, "I mean because of the disobedience." And I say that if the law were observed which forbids that any one be made a Doctor of Divinity or a Canon without sufficient learning, there would not be so much ignorance among us.

ZWINGLI

ON MERCENARY SOLDIERS[1]

(About 1530)

Born in 1484, died in 1531; educated at Bern, Vienna, and Basel; became Pastor of a church in Glarus, Switzerland, in 1506; a Preacher at Zurich in 1518, where he inaugurated the Reformation; met the Saxon reformers in conference in 1529; went with the Zurich forces against the Forest Cantons in 1531; killed at the Battle of Kappel.

THE foreign lords have so wheedled and enticed us, simple confederates, seeking their own profit, that at length they have brought us into such danger and disagreement between ourselves that we, not regarding our fatherland, have more care how to maintain them in their wealth and power than to defend our own houses, wives, and children. And this were less had we not shame and damage out of this pact. We have at Naples, at Navarre, at Milan, suffered greater loss in the service of these masters than since we have been a Confederacy; in our own wars we have been ever conquerors, in foreign wars often vanquished; such evils, it is to be feared, have been brought about by those who seek more their own private gain than the true interests of their country.

Let each one for himself reflect on the evils of

[1] From a sermon translated by John Cochran. By kind permission of Messrs. T. & T. Clark, of Edinburgh.

war and think how it would be with him if he were treated in the manner in which we use our fellow Christians. Think, now, that a foreign mercenary came into thy land with violence; laid waste thy meads, thy fields, thy vineyards; drove off thy cattle; bound thy house furniture together and carted it away; slew thy son in the attack, who would defend himself and thee; violated the chastity of thy daughters; kicked with his feet the dear wife of thy bosom, who went before thee and fell down at the feet of this foreign soldier, begging mercy for thee and herself; dragged out thyself, pious, worthy, old man, even in thine own house and home, from the place where thou wert crouching in fear, knocked thee down in presence of thy wife, despite her cries, and despite thine own trembling, venerable, pleading gray hairs; and then at last set fire to thy dwelling and burned it to the ground,—wouldst thou not think within thyself, if the Heaven did not open and spit fire on such villainy, if the earth did not yawn and swallow up such monsters, there were no God? And yet thou doest all this to another and callest it, forsooth, "the right of war!"

Those who, for truth, religion, justice, and native country, venture their lives in war, are true men, and their cause is sacred. But as for those bloodthirsty, mercenary soldiers who take the field for gain, of whom the world is now full, and those wars which princes carry on, from day to day, out of lust of power, filling the earth

with bloodshed, I, for my part, not only can not approve them, but I believe there is nothing more wicked and criminal, and have the opinion that such men deserve to be branded as highway robbers, and that they are unworthy of the name of Christians.

The second danger that threatens us from the foreign lords and their wars is that justice between man and man is stopped; as an old proverb says, "When arms are up in the hands, laws are under the feet." The term "right of war" means nothing but violence, use it as you will, turn it over as you will. Yet it is objected —force must be employed to reduce the disobedient if they refuse to yield obedience to things lawful and right. Yea, verily, it were good it went no farther, and that the thunderbolt of war struck these alone, and that each forced only the disobedient to obedience in things lawful. But what sayest thou of the man who takes money and helps a foreign master to plunder, lay waste, and rob those who have done him no injury whatever; nay, who carries his sword to such masters whom it does not become to go to war at all, bishops, popes, abbots, and this, too, for vile money? Further, the foreign lords do prejudice to the cause of justice in so far that their gifts blind the eyes of every man, be he as wise as you will, and deprive him of his reason as well as of his piety; as Moses teaches, "A gift doth blind the eyes of the wise and pervert the words of the righteous."

The third danger is that with foreign money and foreign wars our manners will become corrupted and debased. This we see very clearly, for our people have never returned from the foreign wars without bringing something new in clothes for themselves and their wives, or without importing home some new extravagance in eating and drinking, some new oaths; the bad they see and learn with readiness, so that we have reason to fear, if these wars be not desisted from, we shall be inundated with still worse evils.

The morality of the women, too, is corrupted. 'A woman is a weak creature, and desirous of new, handsome things, ornaments, fine clothes, jewels (as we see in Dinah, who went to Sechem out of curiosity, and was there humbled), and when such like things are made to flash in their eyes, and offered to them, think you that they will not be moved by these things, and that the temptation will not be too strong for them? It is to be feared, too, that in time the number of the males will be diminished, altho as yet this has been less noticeable. But at least they are unmanned by luxury. Now no one will work to obtain a living, the lands are out of cultivation, and lie waste in many places, because laborers are not to be got, altho there be people enough, and a land that could well nourish us all. If it bear not cinnamon, ginger, malmsey, cloves, oranges, silk, and other such dainties for the palate, it bears at least butter, milk, horses, sheep,

cattle, lint, wine, and corn, and that to the full, so that we can rear a fine, strong race of men, and as to what we want in our own country we can obtain it elsewhere against our own produce. That we do not hold to this comes from the selfishness that has been introduced among us, and which leads us off from labor to idleness.

And yet to work is noble: it saves from wantonness and vice; it yields good fruit, so that a man can richly nourish his body without care, and without the fear that he sully himself with the blood of the innocent, and live by it. It makes the body, too, hale and strong, dissipates diseases engendered by idleness, and last of all, fruit and increase follow the hand of the worker, as creation itself came from the hand of the all-working God at the beginning, so that, in external things, there is nothing in the universe so like God as the worker.

It is to selfishness we owe it that all our strength and power, which ought to defend our country, are consumed in the service of foreign masters. Behold how unlike we are to our ancestors! These would not suffer foreign masters in their land, but now we lead them in among us by the hand, if they have but money, that some may get hold of the money while many get the stripes. And when a pious man has brought up a well-doing son, then come the captains and steal him away, and he must expose himself to the danger of dying of hunger, disease, murder, shot, or wounds. And if he reckon up his bar-

gained money he will find he could have won more by threshing, without speaking of his being run through the body with a spear ere the account comes to be paid; and last of all, his poor old father that brought him up, and whom he should have maintained in his old age, is reduced to carry the beggar's staff.

But those who get the money want for nothing. They force us into alliances with foreign masters, but only after they themselves have been bought over by heavy bribes. And, when it comes to loss, your neighbor or your neighbor's son must bear it, while they come off scotfree. And altho it stands in the conditions that none is to be forced, yet recruiting parties spread themselves over the whole land, and then it is seen what young blood will do when it is up. And with the remuneration it is to be taken into account that those who get the largest bribes conceal them, but, these living in riot and expense, another, who thinks he can not be less than they, goes to the like expense. And if he can not afford this, then he is at the mercy of the briber, who at last takes his vineyard, fields, and meadows. Then he helps him to a small pension, on which he can not live, and so, having lost his all, he must in the end face war and wounds for a wretched pay. In this manner we lose our best sons, who for vile money are consumed in a foreign land. But few, indeed, become rich, but these so rich that they might buy off the rest.

The fourth danger is that the gifts of the for-

eign lords breed hatred and distrust among us. The Almighty granted to our ancestors grace and favor in his sight, so that they freed themselves from a tyrannous nobility and lived in concord with one another. They prospered; while right and justice were so well administered in this land that all who were oppressed in foreign countries fled hither as to an asylum of safety. Then fear seized the hearts of the princes, who would not themselves act justly, and who yet stood in awe of our bold and unflinching attitude. But seeing that the Lord was strong on our side, so that they could not overcome us by force, they seduced us by the bait of bribes, and reduced us by enslaving us first to selfishness. They laid their schemes and considered that if one of us were to see a friend or a neighbor suddenly growing rich without any trade or profession, and living at his ease in riches, he, too, would be stirred up, in order that he might dress finely, live in idleness, carousing, and wantonness, like his neighbor; to hunt after riches (for all men incline naturally against work and toward idleness), and that, if the like riches were not vouchsafed to him, he would join himself to the ranks of their opponents; that in this manner disunion would be created, so that father should be against son, brother against brother, friend against friend, neighbor against neighbor, and then that the kingdom, as the Son of God himself says, thus divided against itself, would not stand, and there would be an end of

the Confederacy. This was what they calculated upon.

And if any one should inquire, How are we to deliver ourselves from these evils, and return again to union?—I answer, By abstaining from selfishness. For, if this base passion did not reign among us, the Confederacy were more a union of brothers than of confederates. If one rejoins to this, Selfishness is implanted in the human heart, from whence it can not be eradicated, for God alone can know and change the heart, then I answer, Do earnestly that which lies in your power. Where you find it punishable, punish it, and let it not grow. And that it may be extirpated out of the very hearts of men, give heed that the divine Word be faithfully preached.

For where God is not in the heart there is nothing but the man himself. Where there is nothing but the man himself, he cares for nothing but that which serves to his interests, pleasures, and lusts. But when God possesses the heart, then man has regard to that which pleases God, seeks the honor of God, and the profit of his fellow man. Now, the knowledge of God can come to us in no way clearer than from the Word of God. Will you, then, have the knowledge of God spread among you, so that you may live in peace and in the fear of God? Then see to it that the Word of God is purely preached, according to its natural sense, unadulterated by the glosses and inventions of man.

LUTHER

BEFORE THE DIET OF WORMS[1]

(1520)

Born in 1483, died in 1546; became a Monk at Erfurt in 1505; published, at Wittenberg in 1517, his thesis against indulgences; excommunicated and his writings burned in 1520; proscribed at Worms in 1521; published a translation of the Bible in 1534.

MOST SERENE EMPEROR, AND YOU ILLUSTRIOUS PRINCES AND GRACIOUS LORDS:—I this day appear before you in all humility, according to your command, and I implore your majesty and your august highnesses, by the mercies of God, to listen with favor to the defense of a cause which I am well assured is just and right. I ask pardon, if by reason of my ignorance, I am wanting in the manners that befit a court; for I have not been brought up in king's palaces, but in the seclusion of a cloister.

Two questions were yesterday put to me by

[1] From the version given in D'Aubigny's "History of the Reformation"—the American edition of 1845. This speech was delivered at Worms on April 18, 1520, in response to a summons from the emperor, Charles V., who had assured Luther of a safe conduct to and from Worms. When the chancellor had demanded of Luther, "Are you prepared to defend all that your writings contain, or do you wish to retract any part of them?" it is stated in the "Acts of Worms," that Luther "made answer in a low and humble voice, without any vehemence or violence, but with gentleness and mildness and in a manner full of respect and diffidence, yet with much joy and Christian firmness." D'Aubigny says he took this speech, word for word, from an authentic document.

his imperial majesty; the first, whether I was the author of the books whose titles were read; the second, whether I wished to revoke or defend the doctrine I have taught. I answered the first, and I adhere to that answer.

As to the second, I have composed writings on very different subjects. In some I have discussed Faith and Good Works, in a spirit at once so pure, clear, and Christian, that even my adversaries themselves, far from finding anything to censure, confess that these writings are profitable, and deserve to be perused by devout persons. The pope's bull, violent as it is, acknowledges this. What, then, should I be doing if I were now to retract these writings? Wretched man! I alone, of all men living, should be abandoning truths approved by the unanimous voice of friends and enemies, and opposing doctrines that the whole world glories in confessing!

I have composed, secondly, certain works against popery, wherein I have attacked such as by false doctrines, irregular lives, and scandalous examples, afflict the Christian world, and ruin the bodies and souls of men. And is not this confirmed by the grief of all who fear God? Is it not manifest that the laws and human doctrines of the popes entangle, vex, and distress the consciences of the faithful, while the crying and endless extortions of Rome engulf the property and wealth of Christendom, and more particularly of this illustrious nation?

If I were to revoke what I have written on that

subject, what should I do. . . . but strengthen this tyranny, and open a wider door to so many and flagrant impieties? Bearing down all resistance with fresh fury, we should behold these proud men swell, foam, and rage more than ever! And not merely would the yoke which now weighs down Christians be made more grinding by my retractation—it would thereby become, so to speak, lawful,—for, by my retractation, it would receive confirmation from your most serene majesty, and all the States of the Empire. Great God! I should thus be like to an infamous cloak, used to hid and cover over every kind of malice and tyranny.

In the third and last place, I have written some books against private individuals, who had undertaken to defend the tyranny of Rome by destroying the faith. I freely confess that I may have attacked such persons with more violence than was consistent with my profession as an ecclesiastic: I do not think of myself as a saint; but neither can I retract these books, because I should, by so doing, sanction the impieties of my opponents, and they would thence take occasion to crush God's people with still more cruelty.

Yet, as I am a mere man, and not God, I will defend myself after the example of Jesus Christ, who said: "If I have spoken evil, bear witness against me" (John xviii: 23). How much more should I, who am but dust and ashes, and so prone to error, desire that every one should

bring forward what he can against my doctrine.

Therefore, most serene emperor, and you illustrious princes, and all, whether high or low, who hear me, I implore you by the mercies of God to prove to me by the writings of the prophets and apostles that I am in error. As soon as I shall be convinced, I will instantly retract all my errors, and will myself be the first to seize my writings, and commit them to the flames.

What I have just said I think will clearly show that I have well considered and weighed the dangers to which I am exposing myself; but far from being dismayed by them, I rejoice exceedingly to see the Gospel this day, as of old, a cause of disturbance and disagreement. It is the character and destiny of God's word. "I came not to send peace unto the earth, but a sword," said Jesus Christ. God is wonderful and awful in His counsels. Let us have a care, lest in our endeavors to arrest discords, we be bound to fight against the holy word of God and bring down upon our heads a frightful deluge of inextricable dangers, present disaster, and everlasting desolations. . . . Let us have a care lest the reign of the young and noble prince, the Emperor Charles, on whom, next to God, we build so many hopes, should not only commence, but continue and terminate its course under the most fatal auspices. I might cite examples drawn from the oracles of God. I might speak of Pharaohs, of kings of Babylon, or of Israel, who were never more contributing

to their own ruin than when, by measures in appearances most prudent, they thought to establish their authority! "God removeth the mountains and they know not" (Job ix: 5).

In speaking thus, I do not suppose that such noble princes have need of my poor judgment; but I wish to acquit myself of a duty that Germany has a right to expect from her children. And so commending myself to your august majesty, and your most serene highnesses, I beseech you in all humility, not to permit the hatred of my enemies to rain upon me an indignation I have not deserved.[1]

Since your most serene majesty and your high mightinesses require of me a simple, clear and direct answer, I will give one, and it is this: I can not submit my faith either to the pope or to the council, because it is as clear as noonday that they have fallen into error and even into glaring inconsistency with themselves.

[1] D'Aubigny says that after Luther had pronounced these words in German, "with modesty, yet with much earnestness and resolution, he was desired to repeat them in Latin," the emperor being not fond of German. The splendid assembly which surrounded Luther, its noise and excitement, had exhausted him. ("I was bathed in sweat," said he, "and standing in the center of the princes.") But having taken a moment's breathing time, Luther began again "and repeated his address in Latin, with undiminished power." The chancellor spokesman of the Diet, then said, "You have not given any answer to the inquiry put to you. You are not to question the decisions of the councils—you are required to return a clear and distinct answer. Will you or will you not retract?" Luther then proceeded with the answer given in the final paragraph.

If, then, I am not convinced by proof from Holy Scripture, or by cogent reasons, if I am not satisfied by the very text I have cited, and if my judgment is not in this way brought into subjection to God's word, I neither can nor will retract anything; for it can not be right for a Christian to speak against his conscience. I stand here and can say no more. God help me. Amen.[1]

[1] A detailed report of this memorable scene describes how, at this point, Luther, after going out of the room, was again summoned, and asked whether he actually meant to say that councils had erred, to which he answered, they had erred many times, mentioning the Council of Constance. Luther was then told if he did not retract, the emperor and the States of the Empire would proceed "to consider how to deal with an obstinate heretic," to which he answered, "May God be my helper, but I can retract nothing." Pressed once more, and reminded that he had not spoken "with that humility which befitted his condition," he said, "I have no other answer to give than that I have already given." The emperor then made a sign to end the matter, rose from his seat, and the whole assembly followed his example.

MELANCHTHON

ON THE DEATH OF LUTHER[1]

(1546)

Born in 1497, died in 1560; Professor of Greek at Wittenberg in 1518; revised the Augsberg Confession in 1530; drew up the "Apology" in 1530; active as a collaborator with Luther, taking part in various Protestant conferences with the Roman Catholics.

GOD has always preserved a proportion of His servants upon the earth, and now, through Martin Luther, a more splendid period of light and truth has appeared. Solon, Themistocles, Scipio, Augustus, and others, who either established or ruled over mighty empires, were indeed truly great men, but far, far inferior to our illustrious leaders, Isaiah, John the Baptist, Paul, Augustine, and Luther, and it becomes us to study this distinction. What, then, are those great and important things which Luther has disclosed to our view, and which render his life so remarkable; for many are exclaiming against him as a disturber of the Church and a promoter of inexplicable controversies? Luther explained the true and important doctrine of penitence, which was involved in the profoundest darkness. He showed in what it consists and where refuge and consolation could be obtained

[1] From the funeral oration, pronounced after the death of Luther, in February, 1546.

under a sense of divine displeasure. He illustrated the statements of Paul respecting justification by faith, and showed the distinction between the law and the Gospel, civil and spiritual justification. He pointed out the true principle of prayer, and exterminated that heathenish absurdity from the Church that God was not to be invoked if the mind entertained the least doubt upon an academic question. He admonished men to pray, in the exercise of faith and a good conscience, to the only Mediator and Son of God, who is seated at the right hand of the Father, making intercession for us, and not to images or deceased saints according to the shocking practise of the ignorant multitude. He also pointed out other services acceptable to God, was singularly exemplary himself in all the duties of life, and separated the puerilities of human rites and ceremonies—which prevent instead of promoting genuine worship—from those services which are essential to obedience.

In order that heavenly light might be transmitted to posterity he translated the prophetic and apostolic writings into the German language with so much accuracy that his version of itself places Scripture in a more perspicuous light than most commentaries. But he published also various expositions upon the sacred writings which in the judgment of Erasmus by far excelled all others; and as it is recorded respecting those who rebuilt Jerusalem, "with one hand they laid the stones and with the other they held

the sword," so, while he composed annotations on Scripture replete with heavenly instruction, and consoled afflicted consciences by his pious counsels, he was necessitated at the same time to wage incessant war with the adversaries of evangelical truth. When it is recollected that this truth, especially the doctrine of faith and the remission of sins, is not discoverable by the merely human eye, it must be acknowledged he was taught of God, and many of us have witnessed his anxious solicitude to impress the great principle of acceptance by faith. Multitudes of the saints will therefore praise God to all eternity for the benefits which have accrued to the Church by the labors of Luther.

Some by no means evil-minded persons, however, express a suspicion that Luther manifested too much asperity. I will not affirm the reverse, but only quote the language of Erasmus, "God has sent in this latter age a violent physician on account of the magnitude of the existing disorders," fulfilling by such a dispensation the divine message to Jeremiah, "Behold I have put My words in thy mouth. See I have this day set thee over the nations, and over the kingdoms, to root out and pull down, and to destroy and throw down, to build and to plant." Nor does God govern His church according to the counsels of men, nor choose to employ instruments like theirs to promote His purposes. But it is usual for inferior minds to dislike those of a more ardent character.

When Aristides observed the mighty affairs which Themistocles, by the impulse of a superior genius, undertook and happily accomplished, altho he congratulated the State on the advantage it possessed in such a man, he studied every means to divert his zealous mind from its pursuits. I do not deny that ardent spirits are sometimes betrayed into undue impetuosity, for no one is totally exempt from the weaknesses incident to human nature, but they often merit the praise assigned by the ancient proverb to Hercules, Cimon, and other illustrious characters, "rough, indeed, but distinguished by the best principles." So in the Christian Church the apostle Paul mentions such as "war a good warfare, holding faith and a good conscience," and who are both pleasing to God and estimable among pious men. Such a one was Luther, who, while he constantly defended the pure doctrines of Christianity, maintained a conscientious integrity of character. No vain licentiousness was ever detected in him, no seditious counsels, but, on the contrary, he often urged the most pacific measures; and never, never did he blend political articles for the augmentation of power with ecclesiastical affairs. Such wisdom and such virtue I am persuaded do not result from mere human skill or diligence, but the mind must be divinely influenced, especially when it is of the more rough, elevated, and ardent cast, like that of Luther.

What shall I say of his other virtues? Often

have I myself gone to him unawares and found him dissolved in tears and prayers for the Church of Christ. He devoted a certain portion of almost every day to the solemn reading of some of the Psalms of David, with which he mingled his own supplications amid sighs and tears; and he has frequently declared how indignant he felt against those who hastened over devotional exercises through sloth or the pretense of other occupations. On this account, said he, divine wisdom has prescribed some formularies of prayer, that our minds may be inflamed with devotion by reading them, to which, in his opinion, reading aloud very much conduced.

When a variety of great and important deliberations respecting public dangers have been pending, we have witnessed his prodigious vigor of mind, his fearless and unshaken courage. Faith was his sheet-anchor, and by the help of God he was resolved never to be driven from it. Such was his penetration that he perceived at once what was to be done in the most perplexing conjunctures; nor was he, as some supposed, negligent of the public good or disregardful of the wishes of others, but he was well acquainted with the interests of the State, and preeminently sagacious in discovering the capacity and dispositions of all about him. And altho he possessed such extraordinary acuteness of intellect, he read both ancient and modern ecclesiastical writings with the utmost avidity, and his-

tories of every kind, applying the examples they furnished to existing circumstances with remarkable dexterity. The undecaying monuments of his eloquence remain, and in my opinion he equaled any of those who have been most celebrated for their resplendent oratorical powers.

The removal of such a character from among us, of one who was endowed with the greatest intellectual capacity, well instructed and long experienced in the knowledge of Christian truth, adorned with numerous excellences and with virtues of the most heroic cast, chosen by divine Providence to reform the Church of God, and cherishing for all of us a truly paternal affection,—the removal, I say, of such a man demands and justifies our tears. We resemble orphans bereft of an excellent and faithful father; but, while it is necessary to submit to the will of Heaven, let us not permit the memory of his virtues and his good offices to perish.

He was an important instrument, in the hands of God, of public utility; let us diligently study the truth he taught, imitating in our humble situations his fear of God, his faith, the intensity of his devotions, the integrity of his ministerial character, his purity, his careful avoidance of seditious counsel, his ardent thirst of knowledge. And as we frequently meditate upon the pious examples of those illustrious guides of the Church, Jeremiah, John the Baptist, and Paul, whose histories are transmitted to us, so let us frequently reflect upon the doctrine and course of life which distinguished our departed friend.

CALVIN

ON SUFFERING PERSECUTION[1]

Born in 1509, died in 1564; studied in Paris and elsewhere, and joined the Reformation movement about 1528; banished from Paris in 1533; published his "Institutes" in 1536; went to Geneva in 1536; banished from Geneva in 1538, returning in 1541; had a memorable controversy with Servetus in 1553.

It is true that persons may be found who will foolishly expose themselves to death in maintaining some absurd opinions and reveries conceived by their own brain, but such impetuosity is more to be regarded as frenzy than as Christian zeal; and, in fact, there is neither firmness nor sound sense in those who thus, at a kind of haphazard, cast themseves away. But, however this may be, it is in a good cause only that God can acknowledge us as His martyrs. Death is common to all, and the children of God are condemned to ignominy and tortures just as criminals are; but God makes the distinction between them, inasmuch as He can not deny His truth.

On our part, then, it is requisite that we have sure and infallible evidence of the doctrine which we maintain; and hence, as I have said,

[1] From a sermon, with the text "Let me go forth from the city after the Lord Jesus, bearing His reproach." Calvin's works, in translation, have been published in Edinburgh in fifty-three volumes octavo.

we can not be rationally impressed by any exhortations which we receive to suffer persecution for the Gospel, if no true certainty of faith has been imprinted in our hearts. For to hazard our life upon a peradventure is not natural, and tho we were to do it, it would only be rashness, not Christian courage. In a word, nothing that we do will be approved of God if we are not thoroughly persuaded that it is for Him and His cause we suffer persecution and the world is our enemy.

Now, when I speak of such persuasion, I mean not merely that we must know how to distinguish between true religion and the abuses or follies of men, but also that we must be thoroughly persuaded of the heavenly life, and the crown which is promised us above, after we shall have fought here below. Let us understand, then, that both of these requisites are necessary, and can not be separated from each other. The points, accordingly, with which we must commence, are these: We must know well what our Christianity is, what the faith which we have to hold and follow—what the rule which God has given us; and we must be so well furnished with such instructions as to be able boldly to condemn all the falsehoods, errors, and superstitions which Satan has introduced to corrupt the pure simplicity of the doctrine of God. Hence we ought not to be surprised that, in the present day, we see so few persons disposed to suffer for the Gospel, and that the greater part of those who call them-

selves Christians know not what it is. For all are, as it were, lukewarm, and, instead of making it their business to hear or read, count it enough to have had some slight taste of Christian faith. This is the reason why there is so little decision, and why those who are assailed immediately fall away. This fact should stimulate us to inquire more diligently into divine truth, in order to be well assured with regard to it.

Still, however, to be well informed and grounded is not the whole that is necessary. For we see some who seem to be thoroughly imbued with sound doctrine, and who, notwithstanding, have no more zeal or affection than if they had never known any more of God than some fleeting fancy. Why is this? Just because they have never comprehended the majesty of the holy Scriptures. And, in fact, did we, such as we are, consider well that it is God who speaks to us, it is certain that we would listen more attentively and with greater reverence. If we would think that in reading Scripture we are in the school of angels, we would be far more careful and desirous to profit by the doctrine which is propounded to us.

We now see the true method of preparing to suffer for the Gospel. First, we must have profited so far in the school of God as to be decided in regard to true religion and the doctrine which we are to hold; and we must despise all the wiles and impostures of Satan, and all human inventions, as things not only frivolous

but also carnal, inasmuch as they corrupt Christian purity; therein differing, like true martyrs of Christ, from the fantastic persons who suffer for mere absurdities. Secondly, feeling assured of the good cause, we must be inflamed, accordingly, to follow God whithersoever He may call us: His word must have such authority with us as it deserves, and, having withdrawn from this world, we must feel, as it were, enraptured in seeking the heavenly life.

But it is more than strange that, tho the light of God is shining more brightly than it ever did before, there is a lamentable want of zeal! If the thought does not fill us with shame, so much the worse. For we must shortly come before the great Judge, where the iniquity which we endeavor to hide will be brought forward with such upbraidings that we shall be utterly confounded. For, if we are obliged to bear testimony to God according to the measure of the knowledge which He has given us, to what is it owing, I would ask, that we are so cold and timorous in entering into battle, seeing that God has so fully manifested Himself at this time that He may be said to have opened to us and displayed before us the great treasures of His secrets? May it not be said that we do not think we have to do with God? For had we any regard to His majesty we would not dare to turn the doctrine which proceeds from His mouth into some kind of philosophic speculation. In short, it is impossible to deny that it is to our great

shame, not to say fearful condemnation, that we have so well known the truth of God and have so little courage to maintain it!

Above all, when we look to the martyrs of past times, well may we detest our own cowardice! The greater part of those were not persons much versed in holy Scripture, so as to be able to dispute on all subjects. They knew that there was one God, whom they behooved to worship and serve; that they had been redeemed by the blood of Jesus Christ, in order that they might place their confidence of salvation in Him and in His grace; and that, all the inventions of men being mere dross and rubbish, they ought to condemn all idolatries and superstitions. In one word, their theology was in substance this: There is one God, who created all the world, and declared His will to us by Moses and the Prophets, and finally by Jesus Christ and His apostles; and we have one sole Redeemer, who purchased us by His blood, and by whose grace we hope to be saved; all the idols of the world are cursed, and deserve execration.

With a system embracing no other points than these, they went boldly to the flames or to any other kind of death. They did not go in twos or threes, but in such bands that the number of those who fell by the hands of tyrants is almost infinite. We, on our part, are such learned clerks, that none can be more so (so at least we think), and, in fact, so far as regards the knowledge of Scripture, God has so spread it out

before us that no former age was ever so highly favored. Still, after all, there is scarcely a particle of zeal. When men manifest such indifference it looks as if they were bent on provoking the vengeance of God.

What, then, should be done in order to inspire our breasts with true courage? We have, in the first place, to consider how precious the Confession of our Faith is in the sight of God. We little know how much God prizes it, if our life, which is nothing, is valued by us more highly. When it is so, we manifest a marvelous degree of stupidity. We can not save our life at the expense of our confession without acknowledging that we hold it in higher estimation than the honor of God and the salvation of our souls.

Were we to ask the most ignorant, not to say the most brutish persons in the world, why they live, they would not venture to answer simply that it is to eat and drink and sleep; for all know that they have been created for a higher and holier end. And what end can we find if it be not to honor God, and allow ourselves to be governed by Him, like children by a good parent; so that after we have finished the journey of this corruptible life we may be received into His eternal inheritance? Such is the principal, indeed the sole end. When we do not take it into account, and are intent on a brutish life, which is worse than a thousand deaths, what can we allege for our excuse? To live and not know why is unnatural. To reject the causes for which we

live, under the influence of a foolish longing for a respite of some few days, during which we are to live in the world while separated from God—I know not how to name such infatuation and madness.

But as persecution is always harsh and bitter, let us consider how and by what means Christians may be able to fortify themselves with patience, so as unflinchingly to expose their life for the truth of God. The text which we have read out, when it is properly understood, is sufficient to induce us to do so. The apostle says, "Let us go forth from the city after the Lord Jesus, bearing His reproach." In the first place he reminds us, altho the swords should not be drawn over us nor the fires kindled to burn us, that we can not be truly united to the Son of God while we are rooted in this world. Wherefore, a Christian, even in repose, must always have one foot lifted to march to battle, and not only so, but he must have his affections withdrawn from the world altho his body is dwelling in it. Grant that this at first sight seems to us hard, still we must be satisfied with the words of St. Paul, "We are called and appointed to suffer." As if he had said, Such is our condition as Christians; this is the road by which we must go if we would follow Christ.

Meanwhile, to solace our infirmity and mitigate the vexation and sorrow which persecution might cause us, a good reward is held forth: In suffering for the cause of God we are walking

step by step after the Son of God and have Him for our guide. Were it simply said that to be Christians we must pass through all the insults of the world boldly, to meet death at all times and in whatever way God may be pleased to appoint, we might apparently have some pretext for replying, It is a strange road to go at a peradventure. But when we are commanded to follow the Lord Jesus, His guidance is too good and honorable to be refused.

Are we so delicate as to be unwilling to endure anything? Then we must renounce the grace of God by which He has called us to the hope of salvation. For there are two things which can not be separated—to be members of Christ, and to be tried by many afflictions. We certainly ought to prize such a conformity to the Son of God much more than we do. It is true that in the world's judgment there is disgrace in suffering for the Gospel. But since we know that unbelievers are blind, ought we not to have better eyes than they? It is ignominy to suffer from those who occupy the seat of justice, but St. Paul shows us by his example that we have to glory in scourgings for Jesus Christ, as marks by which God recognizes us and avows us for His own. And we know what St. Luke narrates of Peter and John; namely, that they rejoiced to have been "counted worthy to suffer infamy and reproach for the name of the Lord Jesus."

Ignominy and dignity are two opposites: so says the world which, being infatuated, judges

against all reason, and in this way converts the glory of God into dishonor. But, on our part, let us not refuse to be vilified as concerns the world, in order to be honored before God and His angels. We see what pains the ambitious take to receive the commands of a king, and what a boast they make of it. The Son of God presents His commands to us, and every one stands back! Tell me, pray, whether in so doing are we worthy of having anything in common with Him? There is nothing here to attract our sensual nature, but such, notwithstanding, are the true escutcheons of nobility in the heavens. Imprisonment, exile, evil report, imply in men's imagination whatever is to be vituperated; but what hinders us from viewing things as God judges and declares them, save our unbelief? Wherefore let the name of the Son of God have all the weight with us which it deserves, that we may learn to count it honor when He stamps His marks upon us. If we act otherwise our ingratitude is insupportable.

Were God to deal with us according to our deserts, would He not have just cause to chastise us daily in a thousand ways? Nay, more, a hundred thousand deaths would not suffice for a small portion of our misdeeds! Now, if in His infinite goodness He puts all our faults under His foot and abolishes them, and, instead of punishing us according to our demerit, devises an admirable means to convert our afflictions into

honor and a special privilege, inasmuch as through them we are taken into partnership with His Son, must it not be said, when we disdain such a happy state, that we have indeed made little progress in Christian doctrine?

It were easy indeed for God to crown us at once without requiring us to sustain any combats; but as it is His pleasure that until the end of the world Christ shall reign in the midst of His enemies, so it is also His pleasure that we, being placed in the midst of them, shall suffer their oppression and violence till He deliver us. I know, indeed, that the flesh kicks when it is to be brought to this point, but still the will of God must have the mastery. If we feel some repugnance in ourselves it need not surprise us; for it is only too natural for us to shun the cross. Still let us not fail to surmount it, knowing that God accepts our obedience, provided we bring all our feelings and wishes into captivity and make them subject to Him.

In ancient times vast numbers of people, to obtain a simple crown of leaves, refused no toil, no pain, no trouble; nay, it even cost them nothing to die, and yet every one of them fought for a peradventure, not knowing whether he was to gain or lose the prize. God holds forth to us the immortal crown by which we may become partakers of His glory. He does not mean us to fight at haphazard, but all of us have a promise of the prize for which we strive. Have we any

cause, then, to decline the struggle? Do we think it has been said in vain, "If we die with Jesus Christ we shall also live with Him?" Our triumph is prepared, and yet we do all we can to shun the combat.

Part III
MODERN FRANCE

BOSSUET

ON THE DEATH OF THE GREAT CONDÉ[1]

(1686)

Born in 1627, died in 1704; became Preceptor to the Dauphin in 1670, and Bishop of Meaux in 1681; besides sermons he wrote historical and theological works.

SUCH as he had been in all combats—serene, self-possessed, and occupied without anxiety, only with what was necessary to sustain them—such also he was in that last conflict. Death appeared to him no more frightful, pale, and languishing, than amid the fires of battle and in the prospect of victory. While sobbings were heard all around him, he continued, as if another than himself were their object, to give his orders; and if he forbade them weeping, it was not because it was a distress to him, but simply a hindrance. At that time he extended his cares to the least of his domestics. With a liberality

[1] Bossuet's works, in the best French edition (that of Lachat), comprise thirty-one volumes. His "Funeral Orations" are now perhaps the most celebrated of his writings. In this branch of oratory he is usually acknowledged to have been the first great master, as also its creator. Besides the one on the great Condé, from which passages are here given, two others are famous—those on Henrietta of England and her daughter, the Duchess of Orleans. "Bossuet," says H. Morse Stephens, "in the simple grandeur of his language, stands alone among the orators of the golden age of French pulpit eloquence."

worthy of his birth and of their services, he loaded them with gifts, and honored them still more with mementos of his regard.

What was then taking place in that soul? What new light dawned upon him? What sudden ray pierced the cloud, and instantly dissipated, not only all the darkness of sense, but the very shadows, and, if I dare to say it, the sacred obscurities of faith? What then became of those splendid titles by which our pride is flattered? On the very verge of glory, and in the dawning of a light so beautiful, how rapidly vanish the phantoms of the world! How dim appears the splendor of the most glorious victory! How profoundly we despise the glory of the world, and how deeply regret that our eyes were ever dazzled by its radiance! Come, ye people, come now—or, rather, ye princes and lords, ye judges of the earth, and ye who open to man the portals of heaven; and more than all others, ye princes and princesses, nobles descended from a long line of kings, lights of France, but to-day in gloom, and covered with your grief as with a cloud—come and see how little remains of a birth so august, a grandeur so high, a glory so dazzling! Look around on all sides, and see all that magnificence and devotion can do to honor so great a hero: titles and inscriptions, vain signs of that which is no more; shadows which weep around a tomb, fragile images of a grief which time sweeps away with everything else; columns which appear as if they would bear to

heaven the magnificent evidence of our emptiness—nothing, indeed, is wanting in all these honors but he to whom they are rendered! Weep, then, over these feeble remains of human life; weep over that mournful immortality we give to heroes.

But draw near, especially ye who run, with such ardor, the career of glory—intrepid and warrior spirits! Who was more worthy to command you, and in whom did ye find command more honorable? Mourn, then, that great captain, and weeping, say: "Here is a man that led us through all hazards, under whom were formed so many renowned captains, raised by his example, to the highest honors of war; his shadow might yet gain battles; and lo! in his silence his very name animates us, and at the same time warns us, that to find, at death, some rest from our toils, and not arrive unprepared at our eternal dwelling, we must, with an earthly king, yet serve the King of Heaven." Serve, then, that immortal and ever-merciful King, who will value a sigh, or a cup of cold water, given in His name, more than all others will value the shedding of your blood. And begin to reckon the time of your useful services from the day on which you gave yourselves to so beneficent a Master. Will not ye, too, come—ye whom he honored by making you his friends? To whatever extent you enjoyed this confidence, come all of you, and surround this tomb. Mingle your prayers with your tears: and while admiring, in

so great a prince, a friendship so excellent, an intercourse so sweet, preserve the remembrance of a hero whose goodness equaled his courage. Thus may he ever prove your cherished instructor; thus may you profit by his virtues and may his death, which you deplore, serve you at once for consolation and example.

BOURDALOUE

ON THE PASSION OF CHRIST[1]

Born in 1632, died in 1704; Member of the Jesuit order; Professor of rhetoric and theology; Court Preacher in 1670; acquired fame as a Pulpit Orator unrivaled in his time.

THE Passion of Christ, however sorrowful and ignominious it may appear to us, must nevertheless have been to Christ Himself an object of delight, since this God-man, by the wonderful secret of His wisdom and love, has willed that the mystery of it shall be continued and solemnly renewed in His Church until the final consummation of the world. For what is the Eucharist but a perpetual repetition of the Savior's Passion, and what has the Savior supposed in instituting it, but that whatever passed at Calvary is not only represented but consummated on our altars? That is to say, that He is still performing the functions of the victim anew, and is every moment virtually sacrificed, as tho it were not sufficient that He should have suffered once. At least that His love, as powerful as it is free, has given to His adorable suf-

[1] Probably one of the Lenten sermons preached before the court of Louis XIV., to which on ten occasions Bourdaloue was summoned. Abridged. The king once remarked that he "loved better to hear the repetitions of Bourdaloue than the novelties of anyone else." As first collected, Bourdaloue's works comprised sixteen volumes. Other editions are in eighteen volumes.

ferings that character of perpetuity which they have in the Sacrament, and which renders them so salutary to us. Behold, Christians, what the love of a God has devised; but behold, also, what has happened through the malice of men! At the same time that Jesus Christ, in the sacrament of His body, repeats His holy Passion in a manner altogether mysterious, men, the false imitators, or rather base corruptors of the works of God, have found means to renew this same Passion, not only in a profane, but in a criminal, sacrilegious, and horrible manner!

Do not imagine that I speak figuratively. Would to God, Christians, that what I am going to say to you were only a figure, and that you were justified in vindicating yourselves to-day against the horrible expressions which I am obliged to employ! I speak in the literal sense; and you ought to be more affected with this discourse, if what I advance appears to you to be overcharged; for it is by your excesses that it is so, and not by my words. Yes, my dear hearers, the sinners of the age, by the disorders of their lives, renew the bloody and tragic Passion of the Son of God in the world; I will venture to say that the sinners of the age cause to the Son of God, even in the state of glory, as many new passions as they have committed outrages against Him by their actions. Apply yourselves to form an idea of them; and in this picture, which will surprise you, recognize what you are, that you may weep bitterly over yourselves.

What do we see in the Passion of Jesus Christ? A divine Savior betrayed and abandoned by cowardly disciples, persecuted by pontiffs and hypocritical priests, ridiculed and mocked in the palace of Herod by impious courtiers, placed upon a level with Barabbas, and to whom Barabbas is preferred by a blind and inconstant people, exposed to the insults of libertinism, and treated as a mock-king by a troop of soldiers equally barbarous and insolent; in fine, crucified by a merciless executioner! Behold, in a few words, what is most humiliating and most cruel in the death of the Savior of the world! Then tell me if this is not precisely what we now see, of what we are every day called to be witnesses. Let us resume; and follow me.

It belongs to us, my brethren, to meditate to-day on this fact in the spirit of holy compunction; to us consecrated to the ministry of the altars; to us priests of Jesus Christ, whom God has chosen in His Church to be the dispensers of His sacraments. It does not become me to remonstrate in this place. God forbid that I should undertake to judge those who sustain the sacred office! This is not the duty of humility to which my condition calls me. Above all, speaking as I do, before many ministers, the irreprehensible life of whom contributes so much to the edification of the people, I am not yet so infatuated as to make myself the judge, much less the censor of their conduct. But tho it

should induce you only to acknowledge the favors with which God prevents you, as a contrast, from the frightful blindness into which He permits others to fall, remember that the priests, and the princes of the priests, are those whom the Evangelist describes as the authors of the conspiracy formed against the Savior of the world, and of the wickedness committed against Him. Remember that this scandal is notoriously public, and renewed still every day in Christianity. Remember, but with fear and horror, that the greatest persecutors of Jesus Christ are not lay libertines, but wicked priests; and that among the wicked priests, those whose corruption and iniquity are covered with the veil of hypocrisy are His most dangerous and most cruel enemies. A hatred, disguised under the name of zeal, and covered with the specious pretext of observance of the law, was the first movement of the persecution which the Pharisees and the priests raised against the Son of God. Let us fear lest the same passion should blind us!

A Redeemer reviled and mocked in the palace of Herod by the impious creatures of his court! This was, without doubt, one of the most severe insults which Jesus Christ received. But do not suppose, Christians, that this act of impiety ended there. It has passed from the court of Herod, from that prince, destitute of religion, into those even of Christian princes. And is not the Savior still a subject of ridicule to the

libertine spirits which compose them? They worship Him externally, but internally how do they regard His maxims? What idea have they of His humility, of His poverty, of His sufferings? Is not virtue either unknown or despised? It is not a rash zeal which induces me to speak in this manner; it is what you too often witness, Christians; it is what you perhaps feel in yourselves; and a little reflection upon the manners of the court will convince you that there is nothing that I say which is not confirmed by a thousand examples, and that you yourselves are sometimes unhappy accomplices in these crimes.

Herod had often earnestly wished to see Jesus Christ. The reputation which so many miracles had given Him excited the curiosity of this prince, and he did not doubt but that a man who commanded all nature, might strike some wonderful blow to escape from the persecution of His enemies. But the Son of God, who had not been sparing of His prodigies for the salvation of others, spared them for Himself, and would not say a single word about His own safety. He considered Herod and his people as profane persons, with whom He thought it improper to hold any intercourse, and He preferred rather to pass for a fool than to satisfy the false wisdom of the world. As His kingdom was not of this world, as He said to Pilate, it was not at the court that He designed to establish Himself. He knew too well that His doctrine could not be

relished in a place where the rules of worldly wisdom only were followed, and where all the miracles which He had performed had not been sufficient to gain men full of love for themselves and intoxicated with their greatness. In this corrupted region they breathe only the air of vanity; they esteem only that which is splendid; they speak only of preferment: and on whatever side we cast our eyes, we see nothing but what either flatters or inflames the ambitious desires of the heart of man.

What probability, then, was there that Jesus Christ, the most humble of all men, should obtain a hearing where only pageantry and pride prevail? If He had been surrounded with honors and riches, He would have found partizans near Herod and in every other place. But as He preached a renunciation of the world both to His disciples and to Himself, let us not be astonished that they treated Him with so much disdain. Such is the prediction of the holy man Job, and which after him must be accomplished in the person of all the righteous; "the upright man is laughed to scorn." In fact, my dear hearers, you know that whatever virtue and merit we may possess, they are not enough to procure us esteem at court. Enter it, and appear only like Jesus Christ, clothed with the robe of innocence; only walk with Jesus Christ in the way of simplicity; only speak as Jesus Christ to render testimony to the truth, and you will find that you meet with no better treatment there

than Jesus Christ. To be well received there, you must have pomp and splendor; to keep your station there, you must have artifice and intrigue; to be favorably heard there you must have complaisance and flattery. Then all this is opposed to Jesus Christ; and the court being what it is—that is to say, the kingdom of the prince of this world—it is not surprising that the Kingdom of Jesus Christ can not be established there. But woe to you, princes of the earth! Woe to you, men of the world, who despise this incarnate wisdom, for you shall be despised in your turn, and the contempt which shall fall upon you shall be much more terrible than the contempt which you manifest can be prejudicial.

FENELON

TRUE AND FALSE SIMPLICITY[1]

Born in 1651, died in 1715; Preceptor to the sons of the Dauphin in 1689; Archbishop of Cambrai in 1695.

THERE is a simplicity that is a defect, and a simplicity that is a virtue. Simplicity may be a want of discernment. When we speak of a person as simple, we may mean that he is credulous and perhaps vulgar. The simplicity that is a virtue is something sublime; every one loves and admires it; but it is difficult to say exactly what this virtue is.

Simplicity is an uprightness of soul that has no reference to self; it is different from sincerity, and it is a still higher virtue. We see many people who are sincere, without being simple; they only wish to pass for what they are, and they are unwilling to appear what they are not; they are always thinking of themselves, measuring their words, and recalling their thoughts, and reviewing their actions, from the fear that they have done too much or too little. These persons are sincere, but they are not sim-

[1] Translated by Mrs. Follen for a volume of "Sermons of Fenelon" (1829). In French, the latest edition of Fenelon's complete works is that of Leclerc, in thirty-eight volumes (Paris, 1827-30).

ple; they are not at ease with others, and others are not at ease with them; they are not free, ingenuous, natural; we prefer people who are less correct, less perfect, and who are less artificial. This is the decision of man, and it is the judgment of God, who would not have us so occupied with ourselves, and thus, as it were, always arranging our features in a mirror.

To be wholly occupied with others, never to look within, is the state of blindness of those who are entirely engrossed by what is present and addressed to their senses; this is the very reverse of simplicity. To be absorbed in self in whatever engages us, whether we are laboring for our fellow beings or for God—to be wise in our own eyes, reserved, and full of ourselves, troubled at the least thing that disturbs our self-complacency, is the opposite extreme. This is false wisdom, which, with all its glory, is but little less absurd than that folly which pursues only pleasure. The one is intoxicated with all it sees around it; the other with all that it imagines it has within; but it is delirium in both. To be absorbed in the contemplation of our own minds is really worse than to be engrossed by outward things, because it appears like wisdom and yet is not; we do not think of curing it; we pride ourselves upon it; we approve of it; it gives us an unnatural strength; it is a sort of frenzy; we are not conscious of it; we are dying, and we think ourselves in health.

Simplicity consists in a just medium, in which we are neither too much excited, nor too composed. The soul is not carried away by outward things, so that it can not make all necessary reflections; neither does it make those continual references to self, that a jealous sense of its own excellence multiplies to infinity. That freedom of the soul, which looks straight onward in its path, losing no time to reason upon its steps, to study them, or to contemplate those that it has already taken, is true simplicity.

The first step in the progress of the soul is disengagement from outward things, that it may enter into itself, and contemplate its true interests: this is a wise self-love. The second is, to join to this the idea of God whom it fears: this is the feeble beginning of true wisdom; but the soul is still fixed upon itself; it is afraid that it does not fear God enough; it is still thinking of itself. These anxieties about ourselves are far removed from that peace and liberty which a true and simple love inspires; but it is not yet time for this; the soul must pass through this trouble; this operation of the spirit of God in our hearts comes to us gradually; we approach step by step to this simplicity. In the third and last state, we begin to think of God more frequently, we think of ourselves less, and insensibly we lose ourselves in Him.

The more gentle and docile the soul is, the more it advances in this simplicity. It does not

become blind to its own defects, and unconscious of its imperfections; it is more than ever sensible of them; it feels a horror of the slightest sin; it sees more clearly its own corruption; but this sensibility does not arise from dwelling upon itself, but by the light from the presence of God we see how far removed we are from infinite purity.

Thus simplicity is free in its course, since it makes no preparation; but it can only belong to the soul that is purified by a true penitence. It must be the fruit of a perfect renunciation of self, and an unreserved love of God. But tho they, who become penitents, and tear themselves from the vanities of the world, make self the object of thought, yet they must avoid an excessive and unquiet occupation with themselves, such as would trouble, and embarrass, and retard them in their progress. Dwelling too much upon self produces in weak minds useless scruples and superstition and in stronger minds a presumptuous wisdom. Both are contrary to true simplicity, which is free and direct, and gives itself up, without reserve and with a generous self-forgetfulness, to the Father of spirits. How free, how intrepid are the motions, how glorious the progress that the soul makes, when delivered from all low, and interested, and unquiet cares!

If we desire that our friends be simple and free with us, disencumbered of self in their

intimacy with us, will it not please God, who is our truest friend, that we should surrender our souls to Him without fear or reserve, in that holy and sweet communion with Himself which He allows us? It is this simplicity which is the perfection of the true children of God. This is the end that we must have in view, and to which we must be continually advancing.

This deliverance of the soul from all useless, and selfish, and unquiet cares, brings to it a peace and freedom that are unspeakable; this is true simplicity. It is easy to perceive, at the first glance, how glorious it is; but experience alone can make us comprehend the enlargement of heart that it produces. We are then like a child in the arms of its parent; we wish nothing more; we fear nothing; we yield ourselves up to this pure attachment; we are not anxious about what others think of us; all our motions are free, graceful and happy. We do not judge ourselves, and we do not fear to be judged. Let us strive after this lovely simplicity; let us seek the path that leads to it. The further we are from it, the more we must hasten our steps toward it. Very far from being simple, most Christians are not even sincere. They are not only disingenuous, but they are false, and they dissemble with their neighbor, with God, and with themselves. They practise a thousand little arts that indirectly distort the truth. Alas! every man is a liar; those even who are

naturally upright, sincere, and ingenuous, and who are what is called simple and natural, still have this jealous and sensitive reference to self in everything, which secretly nourishes pride, and prevents that true simplicity, which is the renunciation and perfect oblivion of self.

MASSILLON

OF A MALIGNANT TONGUE[1]

Born in 1663, died in 1742; had lived in a monastery when, in 1696, was called to Paris as Director of a seminary; made Court Preacher in 1704; Bishop of Clermont in 1717, and an Academician in 1719.

THE tongue, says the Apostle James, is a devouring fire, a world of iniquity, an unruly evil, full of deadly poison. And behold what I would have applied to the tongue of the evil-speaker, had I undertaken to give you a just and natural idea of all the enormity of this vice: I would have said that the tongue of the slanderer is a devouring fire which tarnishes whatever it touches; which exercises its fury on the good grain, equally as on the chaff; on the profane, as on the sacred; which, wherever it passes, leaves only desolation and ruin; digs even into the bowels of the earth, and fixes itself on things the most hidden; turns into vile ashes what only a moment before had appeared to us so precious and brilliant; acts with more violence and danger than ever in the time when it was apparently

[1] Other famous sermons by Massillon are those known as the "Petit Carême," being short Lenten sermons delivered before the young Louis XV. in 1718, and those on the Prodigal Son, on death, for Christmas day and for the Fourth Sunday in Advent. Massillon had learned much from Bourdaloue, who said of him, "he must increase, but I must decrease." His works, in two large volumes, have been published by Didot.

smothered up and almost extinct; which blackens what it can not consume, and sometimes sparkles and delights before it destroys.

I would have told you that evil-speaking is an assemblage of iniquity; a secret pride, which discovers to us the mote in our brother's eye, but hides the beam which is in our own; a mean envy, which, hurt at the talents of prosperity of others, makes them the subject of its censures, and studies to dim the splendor of whatever outshines itself; a disguised hatred, which sheds, in its speeches, the hidden venom of the heart; an unworthy duplicity, which praises to the face and tears to pieces behind the back; a shameful levity, which has no command over itself or its words, and often sacrifices both fortune and comfort to the imprudence of an amusing conversation; a deliberate barbarity, which goes to pierce your absent brother; a scandal, where you become a subject of shame and sin to those who listen to you; an injustice, where you ravish from your brother what is dearest to him. I should have said that slander is a restless evil, which disturbs society, spreads dissension through cities and countries, disunites the strictest friendships; is the source of hatred and revenge; fills, wherever it enters, with disturbances and confusion; and everywhere is an enemy to peace, comfort, and Christian good-breeding. Lastly, I should have added that it is an evil full of deadly poison; whatever flows from it is infected, and poisons whatever it ap-

proaches; that even its praises are empoisoned, its applauses malicious, its silence criminal; its gestures, motions, and looks have all their venom, and spread it each in their way.

Now the first pretext which authorizes in the world almost all the defamations, and is the cause that our conversations are now continual censures upon our brethren, is the pretended insignificance of the vices we expose to view. We would not wish to tarnish a man of character or ruin his fortune by dishonoring him in the world; to stain the principles of a woman's conduct by entering into the essential points of it—that would be too infamous and mean; but upon a thousand faults which lead our judgment to believe them capable of all the rest; to inspire the minds of those who listen to us with a thousand suspicions which point out what we dare not say; to make satirical remarks which discover a mystery, where no person before had perceived the least intention of concealment; by poisonous interpretations to give an air of ridicule to manners which had hitherto escaped observation; to let everything, on certain points, be clearly understood, while protesting that they are incapable themselves of cunning or deceit, is what the world makes little scruples of; and tho the motives, the circumstances, and the effects of these discourses be highly criminal, yet gaiety and liveliness excuse their malignity, to those who listen to us, and even conceal from ourselves their atrocity.

I say, in the first place, the motives. I know that it is, above all, by the innocency of the intention that they pretend to justify themselves; that you continually say that your design is not to tarnish the reputation of your brother, but innocently to divert yourselves with faults which do not dishonor him in the eyes of the world. You, my dear hearer, to divert yourself with his faults! But what is that cruel pleasure which carries sorrow and bitterness to the heart of your brother? Where is the innocency of an amusement whose source springs from vices which ought to inspire you with compassion and grief? If Jesus Christ forbids us in the Gospel to invigorate the languors of conversation by idle words, shall it be more permitted to you to enliven it by derisions and censures? If the law curses him who uncovers the nakedness of his relations, shall you who add raillery and insult to the discovery be more protected from that malediction? If whoever calls his brother fool be worthy, according to Jesus Christ, of eternal fire, shall he who renders him the contempt and laughing-stock of the profane assembly escape the same punishment? You, to amuse yourself with his faults? But does charity delight in evil? Is that rejoicing in the Lord, so commanded by the apostle? If you love your brother as yourself, can you delight in what afflicts him? Ah! the Church formerly held in horror the exhibition of gladiators, and denied that believers, brought up in the tenderness

and benignity of Jesus Christ, could innocently feast their eyes with the blood and death of these unfortunate slaves, or form a harmless recreation of so inhuman a pleasure. But you renew more detestable shows to enliven your languor; you bring upon the stage not infamous wretches devoted to death, but members of Jesus Christ, your brethren; and there you entertain the spectators with wounds which you inflict on persons rendered sacred by baptism.

Is it then necessary that your brother should suffer, to amuse you? Can you find no delight in your conversations, unless his blood, as I may say, is furnished toward your iniquitous pleasures? Edify each other, says St. Paul, by words of peace and charity; relate the wonders of God toward the just, the history of His mercies to sinners; recall the virtues of those who, with the sign of faith, have preceded us; make an agreeable relaxation to yourselves, in reciting the pious examples of your brethren with whom you live; with a religious joy speak of the victories of faith, of the aggrandizement of the kingdom of Jesus Christ, of the establishment of the truth and the extinction of error, of the favors which Jesus Christ bestows on His Church, by raising up in it faithful pastors, enlightened members, and religious princes; animate yourselves to virtue by contemplating the little solidity of the world, the emptiness of pleasures, and unhappiness of sinners, who yield themselves up to their unruly passions. Are these grand ob-

jects not worthy the delight of Christians? It was thus, however, that the first believers rejoiced in the Lord, and, from the sweets of their conversations, formed one of the most holy consolations to their temporal calamities. It is the heart, my brethren, which decides upon our pleasures; a corrupted heart feels no delight but in what recalls to him the image of his vices; innocent delights are only suitable to virtue.

In effect, you excuse the malignity of your censures by the innocency of your intentions. But fathom the secret of your heart: Whence comes it that your sarcasms are always pointed to such an individual, and that you never amuse yourself with more wit, or more agreeably, than in recalling his faults? May it not proceed from a secret jealousy? Do not his talents, fortune, credit, station, or character, hurt you more than his faults? Would you find him so fit a subject for censure, had he fewer of those qualities which exalt him above you? Would you experience such pleasure in exposing his foibles, did not the world find qualities in him both valuable and praiseworthy? Would Saul have so often repeated with such pleasure that David was only the son of Jesse, had he not considered him as a rival, more deserving than himself of the empire? Whence comes it that the faults of all others find you more indulgent? That elsewhere you excuse everything, but here every circumstance comes empoisoned from your mouth? Go to the source, and examine if

it is not some secret root of bitterness in your heart. And can you pretend to justify, by the innocency of the intention, discourses which flow from so corrupted a principle? You maintain that it is neither from hatred nor jealousy against your brother. I wish to believe it; but in your sarcasms may there not be motives, perhaps, still more shameful and mean? Is it not your wish to render yourself agreeable by turning your brother into an object of contempt and ridicule? Do you not sacrifice his character to your fortune? Courts are always so filled with these adulatory and sordidly interested satires on each other! The great are to be pitied whenever they yield themselves up to unwarrantable aversions. Vices are soon found out, even in that virtue itself which displeases them.

But, after all, you do not feel yourselves guilty, you say, of all these vile motives; and that it is merely through indiscretion and levity of speech, if it sometimes happens that you defame your brethren. But is it by that you can suppose yourself more innocent? Levity and indiscretion; that vice so unworthy of the gravity of a Christian, so distant from the seriousness and solidity of faith, and so often condemned in the Gospel—can it justify another vice? What matters it to the brother whom you stab whether it be done through indiscretion or malice? Does an arrow, unwittingly drawn, make a less dangerous or slighter wound than

if sent on purpose? Is the deadly blow which you give to your brother more slight because it was lanced through imprudence and levity?

And what signifies the innocency of the intention when the action is a crime? But, besides, is there no criminality in indiscretion with regard to the reputation of your brethren? In any case whatever can more circumspection and prudence be required? Are not all the duties of Christianity comprised in that of charity? Does not all religion, as I may say, consist in that? And to be incapable of attention and care, in a point so highly essential, is it not considering, as it were, all the rest as a sport? Ah! it is here he ought to put a guard of circumspection on his tongue, weigh every word, put them together in his heart, says the sage Ecclesiasticus, and let them ripen in his mouth. Do any of these inconsiderate speeches ever escape you against yourself? Do you ever fail in attention to what interests your honor or glory? What indefatigable cares! what exertions and industry, to make them prosper! To what lengths we see you go, to increase your interest or to improve your fortune! If it ever happens that you take blame to yourself, it is always under circumstances which tend to your praise. You censure in yourself only faults which do you honor; and, in confessing your vices, you wish only to recapitulate your virtues. Self-love connects everything with yourself. Love

your brother as you love yourself, and everything will recall you to him; you will be incapable of indiscretion where his interest is concerned, and will no longer need our instructions in respect to what you owe to his character and glory.

DESMOULINS

BETTER TO DIE THAN NOT LIVE FREE[1]

(1788)

Born in 1760, died in 1794; his speeches in 1789 a moving cause of the storming of the Bastille; elected a Deputy to the Convention in 1792; voted for the death of the king; perished, with Danton, under the guillotine.

THERE is one difference between a monarchy and a republic, which alone should suffice to make people reject with horror all monarchical rule and prefer a republic regardless of the cost of its establishment. In a democracy, tho the people may be deceived, yet they at least love virtue. It is merit which they believe they put in power as substitutes for the rascals who are the very essence of monarchies. The vices, concealments, and crimes which are the diseases of republics are the very health and existence of monarchies. Cardinal Richelieu avowed openly in his political principles, that "kings should always avoid using the talents of thoroughly honest men." Long before him Sallust said: "Kings can not get along without rascals; on the contrary, they should fear to trust the honest and upright." It is, therefore, only under a democracy that the good citizen can reasonably

[1] Delivered in Paris in February, 1788. An early translation, revised for this collection.

hope to see a cessation of the triumphs of intrigue and crime; and to this end the people need only to be enlightened.

There is yet this difference between a monarchy and a republic: the reigns of Tiberius, Claudius, Nero, Caligula and Domitian all had happy beginnings. In fact, all reigns make a joyous entry, but this is only a delusion. Royalists therefore laugh at the present state of France as if because of its violent and terrible entry it could not always last.

Everything gives umbrage to a tyrant. If a citizen have popularity, he is becoming a rival to the prince. Consequently, he is stirring up civil strife, and is a suspect. If, on the contrary, he flee popularity and seclude himself in the corner of his own fireside, this retired life makes him remarked, and he is a suspect. If he is a rich man, there is an imminent peril that he may corrupt the people with his largesses, and he becomes a suspect. Are you poor? How then! Invincible emperors, this man must be closely watched; for no one is so enterprising as he who has nothing. He is a suspect! Are you in character somber, melancholy, or neglectful? Then you are afflicted by the condition of public affairs, and are a suspect.

If, on the contrary, the citizen enjoy himself and have resultant indigestion, he is only seeking diversion because his ruler has had an attack of gout, which makes his majesty realize his age. Therefore he is a suspect. Is he virtuous and

austere in his habits? Ah! he is then a new Brutus with his Jacobin severity, censuring the amiable and well-groomed court, and he is a suspect. If he be a philosopher, an orator, or a poet, it will serve him ill to be of greater renown than those who govern, for can it be permitted to pay more attention to the author living on a fourth floor than to the emperor in his gilded palace? Such a one is a suspect.

Has one made a reputation as a warrior—he is but the more dangerous by reason of his talent. There are many resources with an inefficient general. If he is a traitor he can not so quickly deliver his army to the enemy. But an officer of merit like an Agricola—if he be disloyal, not one can be saved. Therefore, all such had better be removed and promptly placed at a distance from the army.

Tacitus tells us that there was anciently in Rome a law specifying the crimes of "lèse-majesté." That crime carried with it the punishment of death. Under the Roman republic treasons were reduced to four kinds, viz.: abandoning an army in the country of an enemy; exciting sedition; the maladministration of the public treasury; and the impairment by inefficiency of the majesty of the Roman people.

But the Roman emperors needed more clauses, in order that they might place cities and citizens under proscription. Augustus was the first to extend the list of offenses that were "lèse-majesté" or revolutionary, and under his suc-

cessors extensions were made until none was exempt. The slightest action was a state offense. A simple look, sadness, compassion, a sigh, or even silence became "lèse-majesté" and disloyalty. One must needs show joy at the execution of a parent or friend lest one should perish. Citizens, liberty must be a great benefit, since Cato disemboweled himself rather than have a king. And what king can we compare in greatness and heroism to the Cæsar whose rule Cato would not endure? Rousseau truly says: "There is in liberty as in innocence and virtue a satisfaction one can only feel in their enjoyment and a pleasure which can cease only when they have been lost."

MIRABEAU

I

NECKER'S FINANCIAL PLAN[1]

(1789)

Born in 1749, died in 1791; before the French Revolution, had served in Corsica, obtaining the rank of Captain; had written essays and pamphlets, traveled extensively, and been noted for dissolute habits; elected to the Convention of the States-General in 1789; attracted wide notice as an orator; became President of the Jacobin Club, and in 1791 President of the National Assembly.

THE minister of finance has presented a most alarming picture of the state of our affairs. He has assured us that delay must aggravate the peril; and that a day, an hour, an instant, may render it fatal. We have no plan that can be substituted for that which he proposes. On this plan, therefore, we must fall back. But, have we time, gentlemen ask, to examine it, to probe it thoroughly, and verify its calculations? No, no! a thousand times no! Haphazard conjec-

[1] **Delivered in the National Assembly on September 26, 1789. Abridged. On July 14th, of this year, the Bastille had fallen. The occasion of this speech was Necker's plan of an income tax of twenty-five per cent. to relieve the desperate state of the treasury. Mirabeau, heretofore, had been opposed to Necker, but now came forth to assist him, making two speeches in favor of his measure. The Bill being still threatened with defeat, he then made a third speech, from which is taken the passage given here. The Bill now passed. Necker's famous daughter, Madame De Staël, who sat near Mirabeau while he spoke, afterward described the effect of the**

tures, insignificant inquiries, gropings that can but mislead—these are all that we can give to it now. Shall we therefore miss the decisive moment? Do gentlemen hope to escape sacrifices and taxation by a plunge into national bankruptcy? What, then, is bankruptcy, but the most cruel, the most iniquitous, most unequal and disastrous of imposts? Listen to me for one moment!

Two centuries of plunder and abuse have dug the abyss which threatens to engulf the nation. It must be filled up—this terrible chasm. But how? Here is a list of proprietors. Choose from the wealthiest, in order that the smallest number of citizens may be sacrificed. But choose! Shall not a few perish, that the mass of the people may be saved? Come, then! Here are two thousand notables, whose property will supply the deficit. Restore order to your finances; peace and prosperity to the kingdom! Strike! Immolate, without mercy, these unfortunate victims! Hurl them into the abyss!—It closes!

You recoil with dismay from the contempla-

speech as "prodigious." Mola, the famous actor, was also present. "With what an accent did you deliver that speech!" said he; "you have surely missed your vocation"—a compliment by which Mirabeau was much flattered. Dumont says Mirabeau was not well acquainted with the subject of Necker's plan, and quotes a remark by Panchaud, that Mirabeau "was the first man in the world to speak on a subject he knew nothing about." Necker's plan failed to relieve the treasury. Bankruptcy was averted only by the issue of assignats.

tion. Inconsistent and pusillanimous! What! Do you not perceive that, in decreeing a public bankruptcy, or, what is worse, in rendering it inevitable without decreeing it, you disgrace yourselves by an act a thousand times more criminal, and—folly inconceivable!—gratuitously criminal? For, in the shocking alternative I have supposed, at least the deficit would be wiped off.

But do you imagine that, in refusing to pay, you shall cease to owe? Think you that the thousands, the millions of men, who will lose in an instant, by the terrible explosion of a bankruptcy, or its revulsion, all that formed the consolation of their lives, and perhaps their sole means of subsistence—think you that they will leave you to the peaceable fruition of your crime? Stoical spectators of the incalculable evils which this catastrophe would disgorge upon France; impenetrable egotists, who fancy that these convulsions of despair and of misery will pass, as other calamities have passed—and all the more rapidly because of their intense violence—are you, indeed, certain that so many men without bread will leave you tranquilly to the enjoyment of those savory viands, the number and delicacy of which you are so loath to diminish? No! you will perish, and, in the universal conflagration, which you do not shrink from kindling, you will not, in losing your honor, save a single one of your detestable indulgences. This is the way we are going.

And I say to you, that the men who, above all others, are interested in the enforcement of these sacrifices which the government demands, are you yourselves! Vote, then, this subsidy extraordinary; and may it prove sufficient! Vote it, inasmuch as whatever doubts you may entertain as to the means—doubts vague and unenlightened—you can have none as to the necessity, or as to our inability to provide—immediately, at least—a substitute. Vote it, because the circumstances of the country admit of no evasion, and we shall be responsible for all delays. Beware of demanding more time! Misfortune accords it never. Why, gentlemen, it was but the other day, that, in reference to a ridiculous commotion at the Palais-Royal—a quixotic insurrection, which never had any importance save in the feeble imaginations or perverse designs of certain faithless men—you heard these wild words: *"Catiline is at the gates of Rome, and yet you deliberate!"* And verily there was neither a Catiline nor a Rome, neither perils nor factions around you. But, to-day, bankruptcy, hideous bankruptcy, is there before you, and threatens to consume you, yourselves, your property, your honor—and yet you deliberate!

II

ON BEING ACCUSED OF TREASONABLE RELATIONS TO THE COURT[1]

(1790)

It is doubtless a point gained toward reconciling opposite opinions, to make known clearly what it is that produces the coincidence, and what it is that constitutes the differences. Amicable discussions are more favorable to a right understanding of our respective sentiments than defamatory insinuation, outrageous accusations, the animosities of rivalship, the machinations of cabal and malevolence.

A report has been spread abroad for this week past, that that part of the National Assembly which approves the concurrence of the royal will, in the exercise of the right of peace and war, has incurred the guilt of parricide against public liberty. Rumors of perfidy, of corruption, are disseminated; popular vengeance is invoked to aid the tyranny of opinion. One might assert that there can not, without a crime, exist two opinions upon one of the most delicate and most difficult questions of civil organization. What a strange madness this, what a deplorable blindness, which thus inflames us one against

[1] From a speech delivered in the National Assembly on May 22, 1790. Abridged. Translated in 1792 by James White. Sometimes known as the second speech "On the Right of Declaring War."

another—men whom one and the same object, the same indestructible sentiment, should, amid the most fell debates, still reconcile, still reunite; men who in fact substitute the irascibility of self-interest for patriotism, and deliver up one another to the rage of popular prejudice!

As for me, but a few days ago it was proposed to carry me in triumph; and now, the cry is, through every street of Paris: "The Grand Treason of the Comte de Mirabeau!"[1] I did not want such a lesson to inform me that there is but a short distance from the capitol to the Tarpeian rock.[2] However, a man combating for reason, for his country, will not so readily acknowledge himself vanquished. He who feels within himself the consciousness of having deserved well of his country, and especially of being still of use to it; he who does not feed upon a vain celebrity, and who contemns the success of a day when looking forward to true glory; he who wishes to speak the truth, who has at heart the public welfare independently of the fickle movements of public opinion—such a man bears

[1] After Mirabeau had spoken on this subject a few days before the Extremists of the Left had vented their wrath in a pamphlet with this title, and caused it to be sold on the streets of Paris. Thiers says that, on the occasion of this speech, Mirabeau ascended the tribune in the presence "of an immense multitude assembled to hear him and declared, as he went up, that he would come down again either dead or victorious."

[2] The Tarpeian Rock in Rome, from which traitors were thrown, stood near the brow of Capitoline Hill, on which stood the Temple of Jupiter, the terminus of triumphal processions.

along with him the recompense of his services, the mitigation of his pains, and the price of all his perils; such a man must expect his harvest, his destiny—the only one which interests him, the destiny of his fame—from time alone, that judge incorruptible, who renders strict justice to every one.

Let those who, for this week past, have been prophesying my opinion without knowing what it was; who at this moment are calumniating my speech without understanding it,—let them accuse me of offering incense to idols without power, at the very moment when they lie prostrate, or of being the vile stipendiary of men against whom I have indefatigably waged war. Let them arraign as an enemy to the Revolution, the man who, perhaps, has not been altogether useless to it, and who, were that Revolution unconnected with his renown, might there alone expect to find an asylum. Let them deliver up to the fury of an infatuated people the man who, for these twenty years, has been the adversary of oppression; who talked to the French of liberty, of Constitution, of resistance, when his base calumniators were at nurse in the court of despotism and suckled with the milk of overbearing prejudices. What is all this to me? This treatment, these unworthy practises, shall not arrest me in my career. I will say to my antagonists, Answer, if you are able; then calumniate, as much as you please.

I reenter the lists, then, with no armor but

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my principles, and the fortitude of conscience. I am going to state, in my turn, the real points of difficulty, with all the accuracy in my power; and I beseech such of my adversaries as shall not understand me, to call on me to stop, that I may express myself more clearly; for, as to the reiterated reproaches of evasion, of subtilty, of doubling and winding, I have resolved to shake them off, "like dewdrops from the lion's mane."[1] As far as on me depends, this day shall unveil the secret of our respective loyalties. M. Barnave has done me the honor to answer me alone; I mean to pay the same compliment to his talents; I am going to endeavor, in my turn, to refute him.

You have said: "We have instituted two distinct powers, the legislative and the executive; the one is commissioned to express the national will, the other to execute it. These two powers ought never to be confounded."

You have applied these principles to the question of debate—that is, to the exercise of the right of war and peace.

You have said: "We must distinguish between action and will; action shall be the king's, will the property of the legislative body. Therefore, when the question shall be to declare war, such declaration being an act of will, it shall be the province of the legislative body to make it."

[1] Mr. White, the translator, explains in a foot-note that the words here quoted were interpolated by himself.

After having laid down this principle, you applied it to each article of my decree. I shall follow the same route. I shall first discuss the general principle; I shall then examine the application which you have made of it to the exercise of the right of war and peace; lastly, I mean to follow you step by step in your criticism of my decree.

You assert that we have two distinct delegates, the one for action, the other for will: I deny it.

The executive power, in whatever relates to action, is certainly very distinct from the legislative; but it is not true that the legislative body is entirely independent of the executive power, even when it is expressing the general will.

In fact, what is the organ of that general will, according to the Constitution? It is, at once, the assembly of the national representatives or the legislative body, and the representative of the executive power; and it takes place in the manner following: The legislative body deliberates, and declares the general will; the representative of the executive power has the twofold right, either of sanctioning the resolution of the legislative body (and such sanction consummates the law), or of exercising the *veto* which is granted to it for a certain time; and the Constitution has determined that, during this period, the resolution of the legislative body shall not be law. It is, therefore, inaccurate to say that our Constitution has established two delegates entirely distinct, even when the ques-

tion relates to the expression of the general will. On the contrary, we have two representatives who cooperate in the formation of law, one of whom introduces a kind of secondary will, exercises over the other a species of control, and bestows on the law his share of influence and authority. Therefore, the general will does not result from the unmodified will of the legislative body.

Let us now pursue the application of your principle to the exercise of the right of war and peace.

You have said: "Whatever in this is nothing more than will, as in all the rest, returns to its natural principle, and can be declared by the legislative power alone." Here I stop you; and I discover your sophism in a single word, which you yourself have brought forward: you shall not, then, escape from me.

In your speech, you confer the enunciation of the general will exclusively—upon whom? *Upon the legislative power.* Upon whom do you confer it in your decree? *Upon the legislative body.* And for this I call you to order. You have *annulled* the Constitution. If you mean that the legislative *body* is the legislative *power,* you thereby overturn every law that we have made. If, whenever the question turns upon expressing the general will with respect to war, the legislative body suffices, according to that alone —the king having neither participation, nor influence, nor control, nor anything of all that we

have granted to the executive power by our social system—you would have, in legislation, two different principles, the one for ordinary legislation, the other for legislation with respect to war—that is, for the most terrible crisis which can agitate the body politic; one while you would have need, and another while you would have no need, of the assistance of the monarch in order to express the general will. And it is you who talk of homogeneousness, of unity, of compactness in the Constitution! Attempt not to say that this distinction is idle; it is so little entitled to that epithet, it is so important in my eyes, and in the eyes of every good citizen who countenances my doctrine, that, if you will substitute, in your decree, in place of the words *the legislative body*, the words *the legislative power*, and define that power thus: An act of the National Assembly, sanctioned by the king, we shall, by that alone, come to an agreement upon the principles; but you will then return to my decree, because it grants less to the king. You make no answer. I proceed.

This contradiction becomes still more striking in the application which you yourself have made of your principle to the case of a declaration of war. You have said: "A declaration of war is no more than an act of will; therefore it is the province of the legislative body to express it."

I have here two questions to put to you, each of which involves two different cases.

The first question is, Do you mean that the

declaration of war is so far the property of the legislative body that the king has not the initiative? or do you mean that he has the initiative?

In the former case, if he has not the initiative, do you mean likewise that he has not the *veto*? From that moment the king ceases to cooperate in the most important act of the national will. How do you reconcile this with the rights which the Constitution has conferred upon the monarch? How do you reconcile it with the public interests? You will have as many encouragers of war as there shall be men of fiery temper.

Are there, or not, great inconveniences in such an order of things? You do not deny that there are.

Are there any, on the other hand, in allowing the king the initiative? By the initiative, I mean a notification, any message whatsoever. You can not discover any inconvenience there.

Observe, moreover, the natural course of things. In order to deliberate, it is necessary to be informed. By whom are you to be informed, if not by him who has the superintendence of your foreign connections?

That were, indeed, a strange Constitution which, having conferred upon the king the supreme executive power, should provide a means of declaring war without the king's having originated the debate upon that subject, in consequence of those connections which it is his duty to maintain. Your assembly would be no longer

a deliberating, but an acting body; it would be, in fact, the governing power.

You will, therefore, allow the initiative to the king.

Let us now proceed to the second case.

If you allow the king the initiative, either you suppose that it is to consist in a mere notification, or you suppose that the king will declare which side it is his inclination to take.

If the king's initiative must be confined to simple notification, the king, in fact, will have no concurrence in the declaration of war.

If, on the contrary, the king's initiative consists in a declaration of the course which he thinks ought to be taken, you have here a double hypothesis, upon which I request that we may argue.

Do you mean that, when the king shall have given his vote for war, the legislative body may deliberate upon peace? I find no inconvenience here. Do you mean, on the other hand, that, when the king is inclined to peace, it shall be lawful for the legislative body to order war, and to cause it to be carried on in spite of him? I can not adopt your system, because here arise inconveniences which it is not possible to remedy.

From this war, determined on in spite of the king, would ere long result a war of opinion against the king, against all his agents. The most turbulent superintendency would preside over all the operations; the desire of seconding those operations, and distrust of the ministry,

would betray the legislative body into transgressing its proper limits. Committees of military execution would be proposed, as some have lately proposed committees of political execution: the king would be then no more than the agent of these committees; we should have two executive powers, or rather the legislative body would exercise the royalty.

Therefore, by this encroachment of one power upon the other, our Constitution would utterly depart from its own nature; from being monarchical, as it ought to be, it would become a downright aristocracy. You have not answered this objection, and I think that you never can answer it. You talk of restraining nothing but ministerial abuses, and I am talking of the means of restraining the abuses of a representative assembly. I am telling you that it is our duty to control that bias which all government takes insensibly toward the predominating form wherewith it is impressed.

But if, when the king is inclined to war, you confine the deliberations of the legislative body to a consent that such war shall be undertaken, or to a resolution that it ought not to be undertaken, and to compelling the executive power to negotiating a peace, you avoid all those inconveniences: and take especial notice (for here it is that my system is so eminently distinguished) that you are perfectly consistent with the principles of the Constitution.

The king's *veto* finds itself, from the very

nature of things, almost entirely blunted in affairs of execution; rarely can it take place in matters relative to war. You parry this inconvenience; you reestablish the superintendency, the reciprocal control, which the Constitution has provided, in imposing upon the two delegates of the nation, her removable representatives and her unremovable representative, the mutual duty of coinciding when the question is upon war. You attribute likewise to the legislative body the sole faculty which can enable it to concur, without inconvenience, in the exercise of this terrible privilege. You at the same time secure the national interest, as far as in you lies; since all that you will have to do in order to arrest the progress of the executive power will be to require it to place continually within the reach of the legislative body the means of deliberating on every case which can present itself.

It appears to me, gentlemen, that the point of difficulty is at length completely known; and, for a man for whom such applause was prepared within and without doors, M. Barnave has not at all approached the true state of the question. It were now but too easy a triumph to pursue him through all the particulars, where, if he has exhibited the talents of a speaker, he has not betrayed the slightest symptoms of a statesman, nor any knowledge of human affairs. He has declaimed against the mischiefs which kings can do, and which they have done; and he has taken special care not to remark that in our Constitu-

tion the monarch can never hereafter assume the character of a despot, nor do anything that can be interpreted as arbitrary. And above all, he has taken good care not to speak of popular emotions, altho he himself could have given an example of the facility with which the friends of a foreign power can influence the opinion of a national assembly by collecting the people around it, and by procuring for their agents, in the public walks, a clapping of hands as a testimony of general favor. He has quoted Pericles as involving his country in a war in order to avoid passing his accounts. Should not one be led to imagine, on hearing M. Barnave, that Pericles was a man who, well knowing how to flatter the passions of the people and to procure seasonable applause when descending from the tribune, by his largesses or by those of his friends, plunged into the Peloponnesian War—whom?—the National Assembly of Athens.

I have said in my speech that hostilities often precede deliberation; I have said that those hostilities might be of such a nature as to amount to a commencement of the state of war. What answer have you made me? That war could not exist otherwise than by a declaration of war. But, are we disputing about things, or about words? You have said with seriousness, what M. de Bougainville said at the sea fight of the Grenadines in a moment of heroic gaiety. The bullets were flying about his ship; he cried out to his officers: "*The pleasant thing is, gentlemen, that*

all this while we are not at war"; and, in fact, war had not been declared.

You have gone largely into the present case of Spain. An act of hostility has been committed: would the National Assembly of Spain have no occasion for deliberation? Doubtless it would, and I have said so, and my decree has formally provided for the case. Here are hostilities commenced, a right to be maintained, a war impending. You have concluded, then, that act of hostility does not constitute a state of war. But if, instead of two vessels taken and released in Nootka Sound, there had been an engagement between two ships of war; if, in order to support them, two squadrons had intermeddled in the quarrel; if an enterprising admiral had pursued the vanquished into port; if an island of some importance had been taken—would there not then have existed a state of war? This will be all that you desire; but since neither your decree nor mine presents means of making the deliberations of the legislative body take the lead of such hostilities, you will admit that it is not there the question lies. But where is the snare?

It is full time to terminate this long debate. I am in hopes that henceforward none will think of shutting their eyes against the true point of difficulty. I am for the cooperation of the executive power in expressing the general will with respect to war and peace, in like manner as the Constitution has conferred on it that cooperation in every part already established of our new

social system. My adversaries are not for it. I am contending that the superintendence of one of the people's delegates should never desert it in the most important political operations; and my antagonists contend that one of the delegates should exclusively possess the right of making war—as if, even were the executive power a stranger to the composition of the general will, our deliberations turned only on the declaration of war, and the exercise of the right involved not a series of mixed operations, in which action and will jostle each other and are confounded.

It has been proposed to you to decide the question by a parallel between those who support the affirmative and those who support the negative. You have been told that you would see, on the one side, men who hope either for advancement in the arm, or to be employed in transacting foreign affairs, men connected with the ministers and their agents; on the other, *the peaceful citizen, virtuous, unknown, unambitious, who finds his own happiness and existence in the happiness and existence of the community.*

I mean not to follow this example. I think that it is no more conformable to the expediencies of politics than it is to the principles of morality, to sharpen the poniard with which one can not wound one's rival without soon feeling the weapon returned upon one's own heart. I do not think that men who ought to serve the public cause as true brother soldiers find any pleasure in defamation and intrigue, and not in informa-

tion and talents; in seeking guilty triumphs in mutual ruin and depression, the trophies of a day, injurious to all, and even to the cause of glory. But I will tell you: among those who maintain my doctrine you may reckon upon all men of moderation, who do not think that wisdom is to be found in extremes, nor that the spirit of pulling down should never make room for that of building up; you may reckon upon the greatest part of those energetic citizens who, at the commencement of the States-General (such at that time was the appellation of this national convention, which is yet but in the cradle of liberty), trampled on so many prejudices, braved so many dangers, beat down so many impediments, in order to make their way into the midst of the Commons, in whom that devotedness inspired the courage and the force which have really effectuated your glorious revolution; you will there behold those tribunes of the people whom the nation will long rank among the number of her deliverers, notwithstanding the incessant barking of envious mediocrity; you will there see persons whose very name disarms calumny, and whose reputation, both as public and private men, the most headstrong libelers have never essayed to tarnish—men, in fine, who without blemish, without views of interest, and without fear, will be honored even to the grave, both by their friends and by their enemies.

BARNAVE

AGAINST MAJORITY ABSOLUTISM[1]

(1791)

Born in 1761, died in 1793; elected a Deputy in 1789; President of the National Assembly in 1790; conducted the king on his return from Varennes in 1791; guillotined in 1793.

It is not enough that one should desire to be free—one must know how to be free. I shall speak briefly, for after the success of our deliberations, I await with confidence the spirit and action of this Assembly. I wish only to announce my opinions on a question, the rejection of which must sooner or later mean the loss of our liberties. This question should leave no doubt in the minds of those who reflect on governments and are guided by impartial judgments. Those who have combated the committee have made a fundamental error. They have confounded democratic government with representative government; they have confounded the rights of the people with the qualifications of an elector, which society dispenses for its well understood interest. Where the government is representative, where there exists an intermediary degree of electors, society, which elects them, has essentially the right to determine the conditions of their eligi-

[1] Delivered in the National Assembly on August 1, 1791. Abridged. An old translation revised for this collection.

bility. There is one right existing in our Constitution, that of the active citizen, but the function of an elector is not a right.

I repeat, society has the right to determine its conditions. Those who misunderstand the nature as they do the advantages of representative government, remind us of the governments of Athens and Sparta, ignoring the differences that distinguish them from France, such as extent of territory, population, etc. Do they forget that those countries interdicted representative government? Have they forgotten that the Lacedæmonians had the right to vote in the assemblies only when they held helots? And only by sacrifice of individual rights did the Lacedæmonians, Athenians, and Romans possess any democratic governments! I ask those who remind us of them, if it is at such government that they would arrive? I ask those who profess metaphysical ideas, because they have no practical ones, those who envelop the question in clouds of theory, because they ignore entirely the fundamental facts of a positive government—I ask, is it forgotten that the democracy of a portion of a people could exist only by the entire enslavement of the other portion? A representative government has only one evil to fear, that of corruption. That such a government shall be good, there must be guaranteed the purity and incorruptibility of the electorate. This body needs the union of three eminent guarantees—first, the light of a fair education and broadened views; secondly, an in-

terest in things, and still better will it be if each have a particular and considerable interest at stake to defend; thirdly, such condition of fortune as to place the elector above attack from corruption.

These advantages I do not look for in the superior class of the rich, for they undoubtedly have too many special and individual interests, which they separate from the general interests. But if it is true that we must not look for the qualifications of the pure elector among the eminently rich, neither should we look for it among those whom lack of fortune has prevented from acquiring enlightenment. Among such who unceasingly feel the touches of want, corruption too easily can find its way.

It is, then, in the middle class that we find the qualities and advantages I have cited. And, I ask, is it the demand that they contribute five to ten francs that causes the assertion that we seek to throw elections into the hands of the rich? You have established the usage that the electors receive nothing; if it were otherwise their great number would make an election most expensive. From the instant that the voter has not means enough to enable him to sacrifice a little time from his daily labor, one of two things would occur: The voter would absent himself, or insist on being paid by the State. Otherwise he would be rewarded by the one who wanted to obtain his suffrage. This does not occur when a comfortable condition is necessary to constitute

an elector. As soon as the government is established, when the Constitution is guaranteed, there is only a common interest for those who live on their property, and those who toil honestly. Then can be distinguished those who desire a stable government from those who seek only revolution and change, since they increase in importance in the midst of trouble as vermin in the midst of corruption.

If it be true, then, that under an established constitutional government all its well-wishers have the same interest, the power of the same must be placed in the hands of the enlightened who can have no interest pressing on them, greater than the common interest of all citizens. Depart from these principles and you fall into the abuses of representative government. You would have extreme poverty in the electorate and extreme opulence in the legislature. You would see soon in France what you see now in England—the purchase of voters in the boroughs not only with money, but with pots of beer. Thus incontestably are elected many parliamentary members. Good representation must not be sought in either extreme, but in the middle class. The committee have thus placed it by making it incumbent that the voter shall possess an accumulation the equivalent of, say, forty days of labor. This would unite the qualities needed to make the elector exercise his privilege with an interest in the same. It is necessary that he own from one hundred and twenty to two hundred

and forty livres, either in property or chattels. I do not think it can seriously be said that this qualification is fixed too high, unless we would introduce among our electors men who would beg or seek improper recompense.

If you would have liberty endure do not hesitate because of specious arguments which will be presented to you by those who, if they reflect, will recognize the purity of our intentions and the resultant advantages of our plans. I add to what I have already said that the system will diminish many existing inconveniences, and the proposed law will not have its full effect for two years.

Some tell us we are taking from the citizen a right which elevated him by the only means through which he can acquire it. I reply that if it were to become an honor, the career which you will open for them will imprint them with character greater and more in conformity with true equality. Our opponents have not failed to magnify the inconveniences of changing the Constitution. Nor do I desire its change. For that reason we should not introduce imprudent discussions to create the necessity of a national convention. In one word, the advice and conclusions of the committee are the sole guarantees for the prosperity and peaceable condition of the nation.

VERGNIAUD

ON THE SITUATION IN FRANCE[1]

(1792)

Born in 1753, died in 1793; elected to the Assembly in 1791, and became its President and Leader of the Girondists; elected to the Convention, he was opposed by Robespierre, arrested, tried and condemned to the guillotine.

WHAT, then, is the strange position in which the National Assembly finds itself? What fatality pursues us and signalizes each day with great events, carrying disorder into our works and giving us over to the tumultuous agitation of apprehensions, hopes, and passions? What fates prepare for France this terrible ebullition, in the midst of which, did we understand less well the imperishable love of the people for liberty, we should be tempted to doubt whether the Revolution is retrograding, or whether it will run its proper course?

At the moment when your armies of the north seemed to be making progress in Brabant and flattered our courage with auguries of victory,

[1] From a speech delivered in the National Assembly on July 3, 1792, after disasters had befallen the French in the war with Austria, and "before an immense concourse," says Thiers. Translated for this edition by Scott Robinson, from H. Morse Stephens's "Orators of the French Revolution." "The first of the four great speeches on which Vergniaud's reputation as an orator mainly rests," says Mr. Stephens.

suddenly they were forced to fall back before the enemy; they abandon advantageous positions which they have conquered; they are led back to our own territory, whence the theater of war is fixed; and nothing of us will remain with the unfortunate Belgians but the memory of the fires which will have lighted our retreat. On another side and on the banks of the Rhine our frontiers are threatened by Prussian troops, whose march the ministerial reports have made us hope would not be so sudden. Such is our political and military situation, and never were so necessary the wise arrangement of plans, the prompt execution of means, the union, the accord of all authorities to whom the Constitution delegates the use of armed force; never might become so disastrous the least misinformation, the slightest suspension, the most trifling missteps.

How does it happen that precisely at the last period of the most violent crisis, on the edge of the abyss into which the nation may plunge, the movement of our armies is suspended; that by a sudden disorganization of the ministry the chain of works has been shattered, the bonds of confidence broken, the safety of the empire given up to the inexperience of hands chosen at random, the difficulties of execution multiplied, and its success jeopardized by mistakes which must happen, even with the most enlightened patriotism, in the apprenticeship of a great administration? If plans are conceived which may expedite the completion of our armies, for increas-

ing our means of conquest, or of making our defeats less disastrous, why are they preceded to the throne by calumny and there stifled by the most perfidious malevolence? Can it be true that our triumphs are dreaded? Is it of the blood of the army of Coblentz or of our own that they are sparing?

And you, gentlemen, what great thing are you going to undertake for the commonwealth? You whose courage the enemies of the Constitution insolently flatter themselves that they have shaken; you whose consciences they try each day to alarm by styling the love of liberty as the spirit of faction—as if you could have forgotten that a despotic court also gave the name of factionists to the representatives of the people who went to take the oath of the Tennis-Court[1]; that the cowardly heroes of the aristocracy have constantly lavished it upon the conquerors of the Bastile, upon all those who made and maintained the Revolution, and which the Constituent Assembly believed it to be its duty to honor it by proclaiming in one of its addresses that the nation was composed of twenty-four millions of factionists; you who have been so calumniated because you are almost all foreign to the caste which the Revolution threw down into the dust, and because the intriguers who desired to re-establish it, and the degraded men who regret the infamous pleasure of groveling before it,

[1] On June 20, 1789.

have not hoped to find accomplices in you; you, against whom they let loose with so much fury only because you form a truly popular assembly, and because in you they wished to dishonor the people; you who have been so cowardly accused of tarnishing the glory of the constitutional throne, because several times your avenging hand struck those who wished to make it the throne of a despot; you to whom has been infamously and absurdly attributed intentions contrary to your oaths, as if your well-being was not attached to the Constitution—as if, invested with another power than that of the law, you had a civil list to hire counter-revolutionary satellites; you whom, by the perfidious use of calumny and the language of a hypocritical moderation, they wished to chill toward the interests of the people, because they know that you hold your mission from the people, that the people is your support, and that if by a guilty desertion of its cause you deserved to be abandoned by it, in turn it would be easy to dissolve you; you whom they wanted and, it must be said with sorrow, whom they have succeeded in weakening by fatal divisions, but who doubtless in the present crisis, when the nation is fixing her anxious gaze on you, will feel the need of gathering together all your forces; who will postpone until after the war our noisy quarrels and our wretched dissensions; who will lay down at the foot of the altar of liberty our pride, our jealousies, and our passions; who will not find this mutual hatred

so sweet that you will prefer its infernal enjoyment to the welfare of the country; you whom they wanted to terrify with armed petitions as if you did not know that in the beginning of the Revolution the sanctuary of liberty was surrounded by the satellites of despotism, that Paris was besieged by an army, and that those days of danger were those of veritable glory for the Constituent Assembly; you, to whom I have believed I ought to present these swift reflections because at the moment when it is important to stir deeply public opinion it seemed to me indispensable to do away with all the illusions, all the errors which might lessen the effect of your measures; you, finally, to whom each day discloses a vast horizon of conspiracies, treacheries, dangers; who are placed on the crater of Ætna to ward off the thunderbolt—what are your resources? What does necessity command you? What does the Constitution allow you?

First, I will call your attention to interior troubles. They have two causes: aristocratic maneuvers, and priestly maneuvers. Both tend to the same end—counter-revolution. You will prevent the action of the first by means of a wise and vigorous police. We must hasten to discuss the bases of it; but when you have done everything that in you lay to save the people from the terrible influence of the second, the Constitution leaves at your further disposal

only a last resort: it is simple; nevertheless, I believe that it is just and efficacious. This is it:

The king has refused his sanction to your resolution upon the religious troubles.[1] I do not know whether the somber spirit of the Medicis and the Cardinal de Lorraine still wanders beneath the arches of the palace of the Tuileries; if the sanguinary hypocrisy of the Jesuits La Chaise and Le Tellier lives again in the soul of some monster burning to see a revival of Saint Bartholomew and the Dragonades; I do not know whether the king's heart is disturbed by the fantastic ideas suggested to him and his conscience disordered by the religious terrors with which he is environed.

But it is not possible to believe, without wronging him and accusing him of being the most dangerous enemy of the Revolution, that he wishes to encourage, by impunity, the criminal attempts of pontifical ambition, and to give to the proud agents of the tiara the disastrous power with which they have equally oppressed peoples and kings. It is not possible to believe, without wronging him and accusing him of being the enemy of the people, that he approves or even looks with indifference on the underhanded schemes employed to divide the citizens, to cast the leaven of hatred into the bosoms of sensitive souls, and to stifle in the name of the Divinity the sweetest sentiments of which He has com-

[1] The king vetoed a measure against priests who refused to swear to the Constitution of 1790.

posed the felicity of mankind. It is impossible to believe, without wronging him and accusing him of being the enemy of the law, that he withholds his consent to the adoption of repressive measures against fanaticism, in order to drive citizens to excesses which despair inspires and the laws condemn; that he prefers to expose unsworn priests, even when they do not disturb the peace, to arbitrary vengeance, rather than to subject them to a law which, affecting only agitators, would cover the innocent with an inviolable egis. Finally it is not possible to believe, without wronging him and accusing him of being the enemy of the Empire, that he wishes to perpetuate sedition and to eternalize the disorders and all the revolutionary movements which are urging the empire toward civil war, and which, through civil war, would plunge it into dissolution.

It is *in the name of the king* that the French princes have tried to enlist all the courts of Europe against the nation; it is to *avenge the dignity of the king* that the treaty of Pilnitz was concluded and the monstrous alliance between the courts of Vienna and Berlin formed; it is *to defend the king* that we have seen the old companies of life-guards, under the colors of rebellion, hastening to Germany; it is in order to *come to the king's aid* that the emigrants are soliciting and obtaining places in the Austrian army and are prepared themselves to rend their country; it is to join those valiant knights of

the *royal prerogative* that other worthies full of honor and delicacy abandon their post in the face of the enemy, violate their oaths, steal the military chests, strive to corrupt their soldiers and thus plunge their glory in dastardliness, perjury, subordination, theft, and assassination; it is against the nation, or the National Assembly alone, and in order to *maintain the splendor of the throne*, that the king of Bohemia and Hungary[1] makes war upon us, and the king of Prussia marches upon our frontiers; it is *in the name of the king* that liberty is attacked, and if they succeeded in its overthrow it would be in his name that they indemnify the allied powers for their expenses; because we understand the generosity of kings; we know with what disinterestedness they dispatch their armies to desolate a foreign land, and up to what point they would exhaust their treasuries to maintain a war which could not be profitable to them. Finally, of all the evils which they are striving to heap upon our heads, and of all those which we have to fear, the *name alone of the king* is the pretext or the cause.

If the king, charged with watching over the external safety of the State, with notifying the legislative body of imminent hostilities, informed of the movements of the Prussian army and not making it known in any way to the

[1] The archduke, later the Emperor Francis.

National Assembly; informed, or at least able to presume, that this army would attack us in a month, was slow in making preparations for repulsion; if there was a just anxiety about the progress the enemy might make into the interior of France, and if a reserve camp were evidently necessary to check or stop this progress; if there was a resolution making the formation of this camp an immediate certainty; if the king rejected this resolution and substituted for it a plan whose success was uncertain and which demanded so much time for its execution that the enemy would have time to make it impossible; if the legislative body passed resolutions of general safety; if the imminence of the peril allowed no delay; if nevertheless the royal assent was refused or deferred for two months; if the king should trust the command of an army to an intriguing general,[1] suspected by the nation because of the most serious faults, and the most pronounced attempts upon the Constitution; if another general,[2] bred far from the corruption of courts, and familiar with victory, should ask, for the glory of our arms, a reinforcement which it would be easy to grant him; if, by refusing, the king should clearly say to him: "I forbid you to conquer"; if, profiting by this baleful temporizing, by so much incoherence in our political course, or rather such constant per-

[1] Lafayette. [2] Lückner.

severance in treachery, the league of tyrants should strike fatal blows at liberty—could it be said that the king had made the constitutional resistance, that he had taken, for the defense of the State, the steps contemplated by the Constitution which he had made along the line of the formal act which it prescribes?

Coming to present circumstances, I do not think that if our armies are not yet at their full complement, it is through the malevolence of the king. I hope that he will soon increase our means of resistance by a useful employment of battalions so uselessly scattered in the interior of the kingdom; finally I hope that the march of the Prussians through our national guards will not be as triumphal as they have the proud madness to imagine. I am not tormented by the fear of seeing realized the horrible suppositions that I have made; however, as the dangers with which we are invested impose upon us the obligation to foresee everything; as the facts that I have supposed are not devoid of striking conformity with several of the king's speeches; as it is certain that the false friends surrounding him have sold themselves to the conspirators of Coblentz[1]; as they are burning to ruin him in order that some one of their chiefs may reap the fruit of the conspiracy; as it is important for his personal safety, as well as for the tranquillity of

[1] Coblentz was the headquarters of the *Emigrés*.

the kingdom, that his conduct be no longer encompassed with suspicions; as only great frankness in his proceedings and in his explanations can prevent extreme measures and the bloody quarrels which the latter would give rise to, I should propose a message in which, after such interpellations as circumstances may make it advisable to address to him, would be presented the truths that I have stated; in which it would be demonstrated that the system of neutrality which they seem to be anxious to have him adopt toward Coblentz and France would be arrant treason in the king of the French; that it would bring him no other glory than profound horror from the nation and signal contempt from the conspirators; that, having already chosen France, he should loudly proclaim his unshakable resolution to triumph or perish with her and the Constitution.

Will you wait until weary of the hardships of the Revolution or corrupted by the habit of groveling around a castle and the insidious preachings of *moderantism*[1]—until weak man become accustomed to speak of liberty without enthusiasm and slavery without horror? How does it happen that the constituted authorities block one another in their course; that armed forces forget that they exist to obey; that soldiers or generals undertake to influence the legislative

[1] The Moderate party was styled *Moderantist*.

body, and distempered citizens to direct, by the machinery of violence, the action of the chief of the executive authority? Do they wish to establish a military government? That is perhaps the most imminent, the most terrible of our dangers. Murmurs are arising against the court: who shall dare to say they are unjust? It is suspected of treacherous plans; what facts can be cited to dispel these suspicions?

They speak of popular movements, of martial law; they try to familiarize the imagination with the blood of the people; the palace of the king of the French is suddenly changed to a redoubt; yet where are his enemies? Against whom are these cannons and these bayonets pointed? The defenders of the Constitution have been repulsed by the ministry; the reins of the Empire have been hanging loose at the moment when it needed as much vigor as patriotism to hold them. Everywhere discord is fomenting, fanaticism triumphing. Instead of taking a firm and patriotic attitude to save it from the storm, the government lets itself be driven before the tempest; its instability inspires foreign powers with scorn; the boldness of those who vomit armies and swords against us chills the good will of the peoples who wish in secret for the triumph of liberty.

This means is worthy of the august mission which you fill, of the generous people whom

you represent; it might even gain some celebrity for the name of that people and make you worthy to live in the memory of men: it will be to imitate the brave Spartans who sacrificed themselves at Thermopylæ; those venerable men who, leaving the Roman senate, went to await, at the thresholds of their homes, the death which marched in the van of the savage conqueror. No, you will not need to offer up prayers that avengers may spring from your ashes. Ah! The day when your blood shall redden the earth, tyranny, its pride, its protectors, its palaces, its satellites, will vanish away for ever before the national omnipotence. And if the sorrow of not having made your country happy embitters your last moments you will at least take with you the consolation that your death will hasten the ruin of the people's oppressors and that your devotion will have saved liberty.[1]

[1] A little over a year later Vergniaud, with twenty-one of his Girondist companions, went to the guillotine.

DANTON

I

"DARE, DARE AGAIN, ALWAYS DARE"[1]

(1792)

Born in 1759, died in 1794; led the attack on the Tuileries in 1792; implicated in the "September Massacres"; helped to organize the Revolutionary Tribunal; Member of the Committee of Public Safety; overthrown by Robespierre.

IT is gratifying to the ministers of a free people to have to announce to them that their country will be saved. All are stirred, all are excited, all burn to fight. You know that Verdun[2] is not yet in the power of our enemies. You know that its garrison swears to immolate the first who breathes a proposition of surrender.

One portion of our people will proceed to the frontiers, another will throw up intrenchments, and the third with pikes will defend the hearts of

[1] Delivered in the National Assembly on September 2, 1792. Translated for this edition by Scott Robinson. Danton's speeches offer a notable exception among the speeches of the orators of the French Revolution. in that they were delivered without previous preparation. The other orators carefully wrote out and read their speeches and then had them printed, "but Danton," says Mr. Stephens, "always improvised; he never drew up a report or published a single speech." For the text of Danton's speeches we have to rely entirely on the reports in the *Moniteur*.

[2] Verdun surrendered on the day this speech was made.

our cities. Paris will second these great efforts. The commissioners of the Commune will solemnly proclaim to the citizens the invitation to arm and march to the defense of the country. At such a moment you can proclaim that the capital deserves well of all France.

At such a moment this National Assembly becomes a veritable committee of war. We ask that you concur with us in directing this sublime movement of the people, by naming commissioners who will second us in these great measures. We ask that any one refusing to give personal service or to furnish arms shall be punished with death. We ask that a set of instructions be drawn up for the citizens to direct their movements. We ask that couriers be sent to all the departments to notify them of the decrees that you proclaim here. The tocsin we are about to ring is not an alarm signal; it sounds the charge on the enemies of our country. To conquer them we must dare, dare again, always dare, and France is saved!

II

ON LIBERTY OF WORSHIP[1]

(1793)

NOTHING should make us prejudge the safety of the State except actual conditions. We have appeared divided among ourselves, but the instant we occupy ourselves with the good of mankind we are in accord. Vergniaud has just told you grand and immortal truths. The constituent Assembly, embarrassed by a king, by the prejudices which still enchain the nation, and by deep-seated intolerance, could not offend established principles, but still did much for liberty in consecrating the principle of toleration. Today the soil of liberty is clear, and we owe it to the French people to give their government a base, eternal and pure. Yes, we shall say to them: Frenchmen, you have the right to adore the divinity which seems to you worthy of your reverence.

The liberty of worship which your laws can contemplate can only be the liberty of individuals to assemble in their own way to render homage to the Diety. Such liberty can only be attained by legal and police regulation, but certainly you do not wish to insert a regulating

[1] From a speech in the Convention on April 18, 1793. Translated for this edition by Scott Robinson.

law in a declaration of right; the right of freedom of worship, a sacred right, will be protected by your laws, which being in harmony with its principles shall have no other object than to guarantee it. Human reason can not retrograde. We have advanced too far for the people to believe that freedom of worship is not theirs, tho they may not see the principle of this liberty graven on the table of your laws.

If superstition seems still to have some share in the disturbances of the Republic, it is because it has been the policy of our enemies always to employ it; but mark: everywhere the people, freed from malevolent instigation, recognize that any one who would interpose between them and their God is an impostor. Everywhere the deportation of fanatical and rebellious priests is demanded. Beware of misconjecturing national opinion; beware of inserting a clause which should contain this unjust presumption; in passing to the order of the day adopt a sort of "previous question" upon the priests, which will do you honor in the eyes of your fellow citizens and of posterity.

III

ON TAXING THE RICH[1]

(1793)

You have decreed an honorable mention of what the Department de l'Herault has believed to make for the public safety. In this decree you authorize the entire Republic to adopt the same measures, for your decree ratifies those which have just been brought to your knowledge. If everywhere the same measures be taken, the Republic is saved. No longer shall be treated as agitators and anarchists those ardent friends of liberty by whom the nation was set in motion, but we shall hear: "Honor to the agitators who turn the vigor of the people against its enemies!" When the temple of liberty shall have been established, the people may be trusted to decorate it. Rather let the soil of France perish than to return beneath a hard slavery; but let no one think we shall become barbarians after our liberty is founded. We shall embellish it; despots shall envy us; but while the ship of state is beaten by the tempest, what belongs to one belongs to all.

Agrarian laws are no longer spoken of; the people are wiser than their calumniators maintain, and the people as a whole have more sense

[1] Delivered in the Convention, April 27, 1793. Translated for this edition by Scott Robinson.

than many of those who deem themselves great men. In a people great men are of no more account than giant trees in a vast forest. It was believed that the people wanted the agrarian law; and this idea may cause suspicions to arise as to the measures adopted by the Department de l'Herault—their motives and their decrees will no doubt be perverted. It will be said of them: "They taxed the rich"; but, citizens, to tax the rich is to serve them. It is rather a veritable advantage for them than a considerable sacrifice; the more the sacrifice upon the usufruct, the more is the principal guaranteed against the invasion of enemies. It is an appeal to every man of means to save the Republic. The appeal is just. What the Department de l'Herault has done, Paris and all France will do.

See what resources France will procure. Paris is rich and luxurious; well, by decree, this sponge is going to be squeezed, and by a gratifying singularity it will be found that the people will carry on the revolution at the expense of their internal enemies. These enemies themselves will learn the price of liberty; they will desire to possess it, when they have recognized that it has preserved their possessions. Paris, in making an appeal to capitalists, will furnish her contingent, which will afford means to suppress the troubles in la Vendée; for, at any sacrifice, these troubles must be suppressed. On this alone depends your external tranquillity.

ROBESPIERRE

I

AGAINST GRANTING THE KING A TRIAL[1]

(1792)

Born in 1758, died in 1794; elected a Deputy to the States-General in 1789; leader of the Extreme Left in the Assembly and one of the chief orators of the Jacobin Club; after the death of Mirabeau, his influence increasing, opposed the Girondists; became a member of the Committee of Public Safety and was closely identified with the horrors of The Reign of Terror; finally overthrown and put to death.

THE Assembly has unwittingly been drawn far from the actual question. There is no question of a trial. Louis is not an accused; you are not judges; you are only, you can be only, statesmen, and the representatives of the nation. You have no sentence to render for or against a man; but a measure of public safety to take, an act of national providence to perform. A dethroned king, in a Republic, is good only for two purposes—either to trouble the tranquillity of the State and to unsettle liberty, or to establish

[1] Delivered in the Convention on December 3, 1792. Translated for this edition by Scott Robinson from the original text as given in Stephens's "Orators of the French Revolution." Robespierre spoke in opposition to the Girondists, who desired to have the king tried in a ceremonious and impressive manner.

both. But I maintain that the character which your deliberation has hitherto taken on tends directly against the goal.

Louis was king and the Republic is founded; the great question which occupies you is decided by these words alone. Louis has been dethroned for his crimes; Louis denounced the French people as rebels; to chastise them he has invoked the arms of his brother tyrants. Victory and the people have decided that he was the rebel: hence Louis can not be judged; he is judged already. He is condemned, or the Republic is not absolved. To propose a trial for Louis XVI. in any way whatever is to retrograde toward royal and constitutional despotism; it is a counter-revolutionary idea, for it is putting the revolution itself on trial.

Indeed, if Louis can still be the object of a trial, Louis can be absolved; he can be innocent. What do I say? He is presumed to be so until he is judged. But if Louis is absolved, if Louis can be presumed to be innocent, what does the Revolution become? If Louis is innocent, all the defenders of liberty become calumniators. All the rebels were friends of truth and the defenders of oppressed innocence; all the manifestoes of foreign courts are but legitimate protestations against a ruling faction. Even the confinement which Louis has suffered until the present time is an unjust persecution; the confederates, the people of Paris, all the patriots of the French dominion are guilty; and this great trial pending

in the court of nature, between crime and virtue, between liberty and tyranny, is finally decided in favor of crime and tyranny.

When a nation has been forced to resort to the right of insurrection it returns to a state of nature as regards its tyrant. How can the latter invoke the social compact? He has annihilated it. The nation can preserve it still, if it thinks fit, in whatever concerns the interrelations of its citizens: but the effect of tyranny and insurrection is to break it entirely as regards the tyrant; it is to throw them into mutual war; the tribunals, the judiciary procedures, are made for the members of the city. It is a gross contradiction to suppose that the Constitution can preside over this new state of things; that would be to suppose that it survived itself. What are the laws which replace it? Those of nature, which is the basis of society itself; the safety of the people. The right to punish the tyrant and that to dethrone him are the same thing. The one does not admit of different forms from the other. The tyrant's trial is insurrection; his judgment is the fall of his power; his penalty, whatever the liberty of the people demands.

Peoples do not judge like judiciary courts. They pass no sentences; they hurl the thunderbolt. They do not condemn kings: they thrust them back into oblivion; and this justice is not inferior to that of courts. If they arm themselves against their oppressors for their own safety, why should they be bound to adopt a

mode of punishing them which would be a new danger to themselves?

We have allowed ourselves to be misled by foreign examples which have nothing in common with us. Since Cromwell caused Charles I. to be judged by a tribunal which he controlled, and Elizabeth had Mary Queen of Scots condemned in the same way, it is natural that tyrants who sacrifice their kind, not to the people, but to their own ambition, should seek to deceive the crowd by illusive forms. It is a question neither of principles, nor of liberty, but of trickery and intrigue. But the people! What other law can they follow but justice and reason supported by their omnipotence?

A trial for Louis XVI! But what is this trial, if it is not the call of insurrection to a tribunal or to some other assembly? When a king has been annihilated by the people, who has the right to resuscitate him in order to make of him a new pretext for trouble and rebellion? And what other effects can this system produce? In opening an arena to the champions of Louis XVI. you resuscitate all the strife of despotism against liberty; you consecrate the right to blaspheme against the Republic and against the people, because the right to defend the former despot involves the right to say everything that concerns his cause. You arouse all the factions; you revive, you encourage dying royalism. The people might freely take part for or against it. What more legitimate, what more natural than to re-

peat everywhere the maxims that his defenders would be free to profess at your bar and from your very tribune? What kind of a Republic is it whose founders raise up adversaries on every side to attack it in its cradle!

It is a great cause, it is said, which must be judged with wise and slow circumspection. It is you who make a great cause of it. What do I say? I say that it is you who make a cause of it. What do you find great in it? Is it its difficulty? No. Is it the person? In the eyes of liberty there is none more vile; in the eyes of humanity there is none more guilty. He can impose again only on those who are more cowardly than himself. Is it the utility of the result? That is one more reason for hastening it. A great cause is a project of popular law; a great cause is that of an unfortunate oppressed by despotism. What is the motive of these everlasting delays which you recommend to us? Are you afraid of wounding popular opinion? As if the people themselves feared anything but the weakness or ambition of their mandatories! As if the people were a vile troop of slaves, stupidly attached to the stupid tyrant whom they have proscribed, desiring at whatever price to wallow in baseness and servitude! You speak of opinion; is it not for you to direct it, to fortify it? If it goes astray, if it becomes depraved, who must it blame for it if not you yourselves? Are you afraid of displeasing the foreign kings leagued against us? Oh! without doubt, the way to con-

quer them is to appear to fear them: the way to confound the criminal conspiracy of the despots of Europe is to respect their accomplice. Are you afraid of foreign peoples? Then you still believe in the inborn love of tyranny.

Why then do you aspire to the glory of emancipating the human race? By what contradiction do you suppose that the nations which have not been astonished by the proclamation of the rights of humanity will be terrified by the chastisement of one of its most cruel oppressors? Finally, you fear, it is said, the verdict of posterity. Yes, posterity will be astonished indeed at your inconsistency and your weakness; and our descendants will laugh both at the presumption and the prejudices of their ancestors. It has been said that genius is necessary to penetrate this question. I maintain that it requires only good faith: it is much less a matter of self-enlightenment than of not wilfully blinding one's self. Why does a thing which seems clear to us at one time seem obscure at another?

I have heard the defenders of inviolability advance a bold principle which I should have almost hesitated to express myself. They said that those who would have slain Louis XVI. on the tenth of August would have performed a virtuous action. But the sole basis of this opinion can be the crimes of Louis XVI. and the rights of the people. Has an interval of three months changed his crimes or the rights of the people? If then he was snatched away from

public indignation it was without doubt solely that his punishment, solemnly ordered by the National Convention in the name of the nation, should be more imposing to the enemies of humanity; but to bring up the question whether he is guilty or whether he can be punished is to betray the trust of the French people.

Of what importance to the people is the contemptible person of the last of the kings? Representatives, what is important to them, what is important to yourselves, is that you fulfil the duties which their confidence has imposed upon you. You have proclaimed the Republic, but have you given it to us? We have not yet made a single law which justifies that name; we have not yet reformed a single abuse of despotism. Away with names; we have still tyranny complete, and in addition, factions more vile and charlatans more immoral, with new ferments of troubles, and of civil war. The Republic! and Louis still lives! and you still place the person of the king between us and liberty! Let us fear to make criminals of ourselves on account of our scruples; let us fear that by showing too much indulgence for the guilty we may place ourselves in his place.

A new difficulty! To what punishment shall we condemn Louis? The punishment of death is too cruel. No, says another, life is more cruel still. I ask that he may live. Advocates of the king, is it through pity or cruelty that you wish to save him from the penalty of his crimes? As

for me, I abhor the penalty of death so lavish in your laws, and I have neither love nor hatred for Louis. Crimes only I hate. I have asked the Assembly, which you still call Constituent, for the abolition of the death penalty, and it is not my fault if the first principles of reason seem to it moral and political heresies. But if you never bethought yourselves to invoke them in favor of so many unfortunates whose offenses are less their own than those of the government, by what fatality do you remember them only to plead the cause of the greatest of all criminals? You ask an exception to the death penalty for him alone against whom it can be legitimate! Yes, the penalty of death generally is a crime, and for that reason alone, according to the indestructible principles of nature, it can be justified only in cases when it is necessary for the safety of individuals or the social body. Public safety never demands it against ordinary offenses, because society can always guard against them by other means and make the offender powerless to harm it. But a dethroned king in the bosom of a revolution which is anything but cemented by laws, a king whose name suffices to draw the scourge of war on the agitated nation, neither prison nor exile can render his existence immaterial to the public welfare; and this cruel exception to ordinary laws which justice approves can be imputed only to the nature of his crimes.

It is with regret that I utter this fatal truth. But Louis must die, because the country must

live. Among a people at peace, free and respected at home and abroad, the counsels to generosity given you might be entertained. But a people whose liberty is still contested after so many sacrifices and combats; a people among whom the laws are still inexorable only toward the unfortunate; a people among whom the crimes of tyranny are still the subjects of debate, must long for vengeance; and the generosity with which we are flattered would seem too much like that of a band of brigands dividing the spoils.

I move to resolve forthwith upon the fate of Louis XVI. As for his wife, you will send her back to the courts, as well as all other persons accused of the same criminal attempts. His son shall be guarded at the Temple, until such time as peace and public liberty shall have been established. As for him, I ask that the Convention declare him, from this moment, a traitor to the French nation, a criminal toward humanity. I ask that it make a great example before the world on the very spot where died, the tenth of August, the noble martyrs of liberty. I ask that this memorable event be commemorated by a monument designed to nourish in the hearts of the people the consciousness of their rights and the horror of tyrants; and in the souls of tyrants a salutary terror of the people's justice.

HIS LAST SPEECH[1]

(1794)

THE enemies of the Republic call me tyrant! Were I such they would grovel at my feet. I should gorge them with gold, I should grant them impunity for their crimes, and they would be grateful. Were I such, the kings we have vanquished, far from denouncing Robespierre, would lend me their guilty support. There would be a covenant between them and me. Tyranny must have tools. But the enemies of tyranny—whither does *their* path tend? To the tomb, and to immortality! What tyrant is my protector? To what faction do I belong? Yourselves! What faction, since the beginning

[1] From the speech delivered in the Convention on July 26, 1794, the day before Robespierre's arrest and two days before his execution. One of the masterpieces of Robespierre. Of Robespierre as an orator, Lamartine says: "Destitute of exterior graces and of that gift of extemporaneous speaking which pours forth the unpremeditated inspirations of natural eloquence, Robespierre had taken so much pains with himself—he had meditated so much, written and erased so much; he had so often braved the inattention and the sarcasm of his audiences—that in the end he succeeded in giving warmth and suppleness to his style, and in transforming his whole person, despite his stiff and meager figure, his shrill voice and abrupt gesticulation, into an engine of eloquence, of conviction and of passion." This speech was printed by order of the Convention a few weeks after Robespierre's death, from a draft found among his papers. In the *Moniteur* only a brief account of it was given at the time of its delivery.

of the Revolution, has crushed and annihilated so many detected traitors? You, the people—our principles—are that faction! A faction to which I am devoted, and against which all the scoundrelism of the day is banded!

The confirmation of the Republic has been my object; and I know that the Republic can be established only on the eternal basis of morality. Against me, and against those who hold kindred principles, the league is formed. My life? Oh, my life I abandon without a regret! I have seen the Past; *and I foresee the Future.* What friend of his country would wish to survive the moment when he could no longer serve it—when he could no longer defend innocence against oppression? Wherefore should I continue in an order of things, where intrigue eternally triumphs over truth; where justice is mocked; where passions the most abject, or fears the most absurd, override the sacred interests of humanity? In witnessing the multitude of vices which the torrent of the Revolution has rolled in turbid communion with its civic virtues, I confess that I have sometimes feared that I should be sullied, in the eyes of posterity, by the impure neighborhood of unprincipled men, who had thrust themselves into association with the sincere friends of humanity; and I rejoice that these conspirators against my country have now, by their reckless rage, traced deep the line of demarcation between themselves and all true men.

Question history, and learn how all the defenders of liberty, in all times, have been overwhelmed by calumny. But their traducers died also. The good and the bad disappear alike from the earth; but in very different conditions. O Frenchmen! O my countrymen! Let not your enemies, with their desolating doctrines, degrade your souls, and enervate your virtues! No, Chaumette, no! Death is *not* "an eternal sleep!" Citizens! efface from the tomb that motto, graven by sacrilegious hands, which spreads over all nature a funereal crape, takes from oppressed innocence its support, and affronts the beneficent dispensation of death! Inscribe rather thereon these words: "Death is the commencement of immortality!" I leave to the oppressors of the people a terrible testament, which I proclaim with the independence befitting one whose career is so nearly ended; it is the awful truth: "Thou shalt die!"

MARAT

IN HIS OWN DEFENSE[1]

(1793)

Born in 1744, died in 1793; practised medicine for a time in London and Paris; began to publish his newspaper, *L'Ami du Peuple*, in 1789; elected to the National Convention in 1792; an Ultrarevolutionist; tried and acquitted by the Revolutionary Tribunal in April, 1793; with Danton and Robespierre overthrew the Girondists in June, 1793; assassinated by Charlotte Corday in July, 1793.

If, therefore, I appear before my judges, it is only that I may rise triumphant and confound imposture; it is to unseal the eyes of that part of the nation which has already been led astray on my account; it is to go out a conqueror from this imbroglio, to reassure public opinion, to do a good service in the fatherland, and to strengthen the cause of liberty.

Full of confidence in the enlightenment, equity, and civic spirit of this tribunal, I myself urge the most rigorous examination into this affair. Strong as I am in the testimonv of my own conscience, in the rectitude of my intentions, in the purity of my civic spirit, I seek no indulgence, but demand strict justice.

The decree of accusation brought against me was carried without discussion, in violation of

[1] From a speech in his own defense before the National Convention in April, 1793. An old translation revised for this collection.

law and in contradiction to the principles of order, liberty, and justice. For it is a principle of right that no citizen shall be censured without having first been heard. This decree of accusation was brought against me by two hundred and ten members of a faction, contrary to the demand of ninety-two members of "the Mountain"; that is to say, by two hundred and ten enemies of the country against ninety-two defenders of liberty. It was issued amid the most scandalous uproar, during which patriots covered the royalists with opprobrium, reproaching them with lack of civic spirit, with baseness, and with their machinations. It was issued in spite of the most marked manifestations of public opinion, and amid the noise of continuous hootings throughout the tribunes. It was issued in a manner so revolting that twenty members who had been deceived by this faction refused to vote for it, the decree not having been discussed. It was issued while one of them, yielding to the movement of an honest friend, cried out: "I do not vote, and I greatly fear, after all that I have seen, that I have been the dupe of a perfidious cabal."

Originating with a committee of legislation almost entirely composed of my mortal enemies, all of whom were members of the faction, it was drawn with such want of reflection that it bears on its face all the characteristics of dense ignorance, falsehood, madness, fury, and atrocity. At a glance the act may be seen to be filled with

glaring inconsistencies, or we should rather say with the spirit of contradiction to the "Decree of Accusation," of which it served as the basis. It makes no mention of the address drawn up by the Jacobins, the signing of which they attributed to me as a crime; and yet this address was what caused the decree.

When I see how ridiculous and destitute of foundation this act is, I feel ashamed of the committee. As the address of the Jacobins contains the sentiments of true republicans, and as it has been signed by nearly all of my colleags of "the Mountain," the committee, forced to abandon the fundamental count in the accusation, was reduced to the expedient of citing some of my writings which had lain neglected for many months in the dust, and it stupidly reproduced the denunciation of some others of my writings, a subject which the Assembly refused to pursue, passing to the order of the day, as I shall prove in the sequel.

Let us prove now that that act is illegal. It rests wholly, as you have seen, on some of my political opinions. These opinions had been enunciated from the tribune of the Convention before they were published in my writings. My writings, the constant aim of which has been to reveal plots, to unmask traitors, to propose useful measures, are merely supplements to what I can not always fully explain in the midst of the Assembly.

But what will appear incredible is that the

committee should call down, without ceremony, without shame, and without remorse, capital punishment on my head, and cite articles of the penal code, which, according to its interpretation, condemned me to death. I doubt not that such is the object which they have in view. How many statesmen have been tormented with despair as to keeping me in prison, smothering my voice, and restraining my pen? Did not one of them, the atrocious Lacaze, have the impudence to ask the Convention, as Dumouriez and Cobourg asked, that I should be outlawed? So that the act of accusation becomes a veritable "verdict rendered," which has only now to be executed.

This act is a tissue of lies and fabrications. It accuses me of having incited to murder and pillage, of setting up a "Chief of State," dishonoring and dissolving a convention, etc. The contrary can be proved to be true simply by reading my writings. I demand a consecutive reading; for it is not by garbling and mutilating passages that the ideas of an author are to be learned, but by reading the context; then the meaning may be judged.

CAMBON

ON THE SITUATION IN FRANCE[1]

(1793)

Born in 1754, died in 1820; elected to the Assembly in 1791, to the Convention in 1792, and a member of the Committee of Public Safety in 1793; the greatest financier of the Revolution.

THE Committee of Public Safety charged me to apprise you yesterday of the condition of the Republic at the time of its establishment and of its actual condition, as well as to give you a summary of the operations it has conducted. I have just finished this task.

I will first remind you that, at the period of the establishment of the committee, the Republic was betrayed. Dumouriez had disorganized the army of the North and the Ardennes, and there remained but about two thousand five hundred men in the garrisons of that whole frontier; the forts lacked provisions and munitions to sustain a siege, and this perfidious general, after having delivered to the Austrians the

[1] From a speech in the Convention on July 11, 1793. Translated by Scott Robinson for this edition from the text as given by Stephens. This speech was technically a report from Cambon and Danton, members of the Committee of Public Safety, who had been rejected at the election of the new committee, in which Robespierre became the dominant figure, and which ruled France for the next year with a despotic and bloody hand.

stores and arms for a considerable sum, would also have delivered up the fortifications without defense, or have seized them with the armies of the Republic.

You know that this general abandoned at Liege 10,000 guns and 20,000 to 25,000 uniforms, which he had stored for the benefit of our enemies, while the soldiers of the Republic were in need of them; and to draw them over to his side, he made this hall ring with his hypocritical plaints of the destitution of the army, for the purpose of casting the blame upon this Convention.

The armies of the Rhine and the Moselle were obliged to retire and to abandon the vicinity of Mayence. They fell back in points along the frontier, and were in a sort of disorganization—the inevitable result of a forced retreat.

The Spaniards attacked on the side of Bayonne and Perpignan; the armies of the Eastern and Western Pyrenees, of which we had heard so much, and which we were constantly told were on the point of organizing, were totally destitute. They needed generals, there were no field guns, almost no carriages for their siege guns, almost no stores or food, and few soldiers.

The commissioners, Isnard, Aubry, and Despinassy, whom you sent to Perpignan, made you a very reassuring report on the condition of that frontier; nevertheless the representatives of the people, who were there at the time of the first invasion of the Spaniards, write you that it was

totally abandoned; that the forts were nearly all dismantled; that most of the cannon found in the works were without mounts; that there were almost no stores, and that they were unprovided with food.

As to our situation in the interior, fanaticism had raised armies in la Vendée, in la Loire Inférieure and adjoining departments; several cities, forts and islands were in the power of the rebels. It was hoped, at first, that the courage of the Republicans would strangle this rebellion in its birth; and it being impossible to send disciplined troops there—only forces raised by local requisition and some small bodies of paid troops, unfortunately intrigues of which you are aware cooled the public spirit in part of the departments. The citizens did not show the energy necessary to combat fanaticism, which has an energy of its own; the bravery of the soldiers was not seconded or else was paralyzed by perfidious chiefs; we lost arms, cannon, and munitions, which were used against ourselves.

At the same time we had to defend the Brest and Cherbourg coast. There were but a few scattered troops in the garrisons; on the coasts of Brittany, where revolts had broken out, there were hardly 5,000 paid troops—an insufficient number for the crews of the ships of the line.

The coasts and seaports of the Republic were not in a reassuring state of defense. Everywhere calls were made for cannon, mounts, and men to defend the redoubts; but little activity was dis-

played in fitting out the fleets of the Republic; the ports of Brest, Rochefort, and Lorient had but six vessels of the line fit to put to sea, and the Mediterranean fleet was undergoing repairs at Toulon.

You had one hundred and seventy representatives of the people in the departments to excite the patriotism of the citizens for the enlistment of 300,000 men, or on various missions of superintendence; but one of the maneuvers of the enemy was to calumniate them in order to block the success of their operations. Nothing was left undone to decry them, to discredit their authority, and to create enemies for them; everywhere a word was used which has since become a party name: they were called "Maratists"[1]—a name invented by our enemies to decry the most energetic patriots. It was said that the "Maratists" were assassins, partizans of the agrarian laws and of royalty for the Duke of Orleans. Soon the same epithet was applied to a portion of this Assembly.

Such was the condition of the Republic when the Committee of Public Safety was organized.

[1] From Marat, who was assassinated two days after this speech was delivered.

ST. JUST

INVECTIVE AGAINST DANTON[1]

(1794)

Born in 1767, died in 1794; elected to the Convention in 1792; served as a member of the Committee of Public Safety; became a chief promoter of the Reign of Terror; opposed Danton, securing his overthrow, and involved in the final downfall of Robespierre.

DANTON, you have served the cause of tyranny. You were, it is true, opposed to Lafayette; but Mirabeau, Orleans, Dumouriez were also opposed to him. Dare you deny that you were sold to these three men, the most violent of conspirators against liberty? It was by the protection of Mirabeau that you were named administrator of the department of Paris, at a time when the electoral assembly was decidedly royalist. All the friends of Mirabeau openly boasted that they had shut your mouth. Moreover, as long as that frightful personage lived you remained silent. At that time you charged a rigid patriot in the course of a dinner that he would compromise the

[1] This attack on Danton was made in the "Report on the Conspiracy of the Dantonists," delivered by St. Just before the Convention on March 31, 1794, material for it having been furnished by Robespierre. Translated by Scott Robinson from the text given by Stephens. Thiers, in commenting on this speech, says St. Just urged against Danton "the falsest accusations, and distorted known facts in the most atrocious manner."

good cause by stepping aside from the path along which Barnave and Lameth, who abandoned the popular party, were moving.

Amid the first gleams of the Revolution you displayed a threatening attitude toward the court; you spoke against it with vehemence. Mirabeau, who meditated a change of dynasty, scented the price of your audacity and seized you. Thenceforward you strayed from rigid principles, and you were no longer spoken of until the massacre of the Champs de Mars. Then you supported, at the Jacobin Club, the motion of Laclos, which was a baleful pretext, paid for by the enemies of the people, for the unfurling of the red flag and an attempt at tyranny. The patriots who were not initiated in this conspiracy had ineffectually combated your sanguinary opinion. You were named with Brissot to draw up the petition of the Champs de Mars, and you both escaped the fury of Lafayette, who caused 2,000 patriots[1] to be massacred. Brissot went about peaceably after that in Paris; and you, you passed away happy hours at Arcis-sur-Aube —if a person who conspired against his country could be happy. Is not the calm of your retreat at Arcis-sur-Aube comprehensible? You, one of the authors of the petition; while of those who had signed it some were loaded with chains, others were massacred; Brissot and you, were you

[1] Stephens remarks that this is "a gross exaggeration," only about three hundred persons being killed in the massacre of July 17, 1791.

not objects of tyranny's gratitude since you were not objects of its hatred and terror?

What shall I say of your cowardly and constant abandonment of the public cause in the midst of crises, when you always took the part of retreat?

Mirabeau dead, you conspired with the Lameths and supported them. You remained neutral during the Legislative Assembly, and you held your peace during the sore struggle of the Jacobins against Brissot and the Girondist faction. At first you supported their opinion upon the war. Pressed afterward by the reproaches of the best citizens, you declared that you would observe the two parties, and you retired into silence. Allied with Brissot in the affair of the Champs de Mars you thereafter shared his tranquillity and his liberty-killing principles; then, given over entirely to this victorious party, you said of those who held aloof from it, that since they were alone in their opinion upon the war, and since they wished to ruin themselves, your friends and you must abandon them to their fate. But when you saw the storm of the tenth of August gathering, again you betook yourself to Arcis-sur-Aube. However, urged by shame and reproaches, and when you knew that the fall of tyranny was well prepared and inevitable, you returned to Paris on the 9th of August. You hid yourself during that terrible night. Your section, which had nominated you its president, long awaited you; they dragged you out of a

shameful repose. You presided for an hour; you quitted the chair at the moment the tocsin sounded; at the same instant the satellites of tyranny entered and thrust the bayonet through the heart of him who had replaced you. You, you slept!

You detached yourself from the Mountain amid the dangers which it ran. You publicly claimed it as a merit not to have denounced Gensonné, Gaudet, and Brissot; you incessantly held out to them the olive branch, a pledge of your alliance with them against the people and strict republicans. The Girondists made a mock war against you; in order to force you to declare yourself it demanded a reckoning of you; it accused you of ambition. Your far-sighted hypocrisy conciliated all, and contrived to maintain itself in the midst of parties, always ready to dissimulate before the strongest without offending the weakest. During stormy debates, your absence and your silence were commented on with indignation; you, you spoke of the country, of the delights of solitude and idleness, but you could quit your apathy to defend Dumouriez, Westermann, his boasted creature, and his accomplices, the generals.

You knew how to allay the wrath of the patriots; you represented our misfortunes as the result of the feebleness of our armies, and you turned attention from the treachery of the generals to occupy yourself with new levies of men. You were associated in the crimes of Lacroix, a long denounced conspirator of impure soul,

with whom one could not be united save by the knot which binds conspirators. Lacroix was always more than suspected, hypocritical and perfidious: he has never spoken with good faith within these precincts; he had the audacity to praise Miranda and to propose the renewing of the Convention; his conduct with Dumouriez was the same as yours. Lacroix has often testified his hatred for the Jacobins. Whence came the pomp with which he was surrounded? But why recall so many horrors when your evident complicity with Orleans and Dumouriez in Belgium suffices for justice to smite you.

Unworthy citizen, you have plotted; false friend, you spoke evil two days ago of Desmoulins, an instrument whom you have lost, and you attributed shameful vices to him. Wicked man, you have compared public opinion to a woman of loose life; you have said that honor was absurd, that glory and posterity were a folly. These maxims were to conciliate you with the aristocracy; they were those of Catiline. If Fabre is innocent, if Orleans, if Dumouriez were innocent, then doubtless you are innocent. I have said too much: you shall answer to justice.[1]

[1] Danton had been arrested the day before St. Just delivered this speech, which was intended as a justification for getting rid of him. He was executed six days later, April 5, 1794, prophesying that Robespierre himself would soon fall. On the twenty-eighth of the following July Robespierre and St. Just with others perished on the guillotine.

BARÈRE

ON THE HEROISM OF THE "VENGEUR'S" SAILORS[1]

(1794)

Born in 1755, died in 1841; elected to the Assembly in 1789, to the Convention in 1792, over which he presided during the trial of Louis XVI., and was a member of the Committee of Public Safety and a Deputy in 1815 during the Hundred Days. Macaulay's ferocious attack on Barère will be remembered.

THE Committee has instructed me to make known to the Convention certain sublime acts which can not be ignored either by it or by the French people.

Since the sea became a field of carnage and war has dyed the waves with blood, the annals of Europe have known no combat so stubborn, no valor so sustained, and no action so terrible, so murderous, as that of the 13th Prairial, when

[1] Delivered before the Convention on July 9, 1794, in Barère's capacity as official reporter for the Committee of Public Safety. Its basis of fact is that the *Vengeur* was sunk and that all of her crew, whom the English boats could not rescue, went down crying for help or shouting, "Vive la Republique." The incident occurred during the battle which the British called "The Glorious First of June" (1794). Lord Howe with twenty-five ships of the line had engaged a French fleet of twenty-six ships, dismasting ten, capturing six, and sinking one, the *Vengeur*. Translated for this edition by Scott Robinson from the text as given by Stephens.

our fleet saved the American convoy.[1] *Vanstabel,*[2] in convoying the American fleet to our ports, has passed through waves stained with blood, through corpses and the wreckage of ships. The ferocity of the combat which preceded the arrival of the convoy has proved how thoroughly republican are our fleets, since the hatred of the name English directed the blows; and the greater the inequality of force on the side of the French, the greater and more courageous was their resistance. The English sailors, returned to their island, have not been able to rob history of this remarkable event.

The soul of the Republicans rises insensibly as the Revolution progresses; it becomes more energetic, and their courage is more exalted, by reason of dangers and misfortune. The passion of liberty follows them everywhere; it solaces them in chains; it encourages them in adversity; and the songs by which we celebrate our victories and our independence console them for being condemned to live amid the implacable enemies of the Republic.

The English have seized their persons and their ships; but the republican virtues, the pa-

[1] The Battle of the First of June took place between a French fleet convoying some American ships loaded with grain, of which France was much in need, and an English fleet which endeavored to intercept them.

[2] The French admiral in nominal command was Villaret de Joyeuse; but Citizen Jean Bon Saint-André, representing the Committee of Public Safety, was aboard his flag-ship and is commonly thought to have made disaster inevitable.

triot's proud courage, that love of his country which is the idol of the French warrior, the Republican's elevated soul, were never in the power of this old enemy of France; and in spite of adversity, even when in fetters, the freeman overawes the tyrant.

Citizens, let us turn our backs on these execrable islanders; let us return to the ocean; we shall there see acts of courage and patriotic devotion much more sublime. The naval armies of the French republic and of the English monarchy had long been face to face[1] and the most terrible engagement has just been delivered on the 13th Prairial. The sharpest firing, the most justifiable fury on the part of the French, augmented the horrors and perils of that day. Three English ships were sunk,[2] some French ships were disabled, and under the enemy's cannonade the seams of one of these ships burst open, adding the horror of certain shipwreck to a fight to the death. But this vessel was manned by men who had imbibed that intrepidity of soul which scorns danger, and that love of country which makes death contemptible.

A sort of martial philosophy had seized the entire crew. The ships of the English tyrant hemmed in this ship of the Republic, and tried to force her crew to surrender. A multitude of guns thundered at the *Vengeur;* broken masts,

[1] Indecisive engagements took place on May 28 and 29. Fogs then kept the fleets apart until June 1.

[2] No English ship was sunk.

torn sails, splintered spars covered the sea. Was it possible that so much courage, such superhuman efforts, could be unavailing?

Wretched slaves of Pitt and George! think you that French Republicans will give themselves over into perfidious hands, and make terms with enemies so vile as you? No, hope it not; the eyes of the Republic are on them; they will conquer or die for her. Hours of combat have not exhausted their courage; still they fight; the enemy receives their last shots and their ship leaks through every seam.

What will become of our brothers? They must either fall into the tyrant's hands or be swallowed up by the sea. Have no fears for their glory; the Republicans who man this ship are greater in misfortune than in success. A stern resolution has succeeded to the heat of battle. Picture this ship, the *Vengeur,* pierced by cannon balls, gaping in every seam, hemmed in by English tigers and leopards,[1] with her crew of wounded and dying, fighting against the waves and the cannon. The third tier of guns is almost at the water's edge, but still hurl death to the perfidious islanders. Suddenly cease the roar of battle, the terror of danger, the groans of the wounded; all hands ascend or are carried to the deck. All the flags, all the pennants are hoisted; the ensign is nailed to the staff; shouts of "Long Live the Republic!" "Long Live Lib-

[1] The Plantagenet lions which appear on the British royal arms are heraldically leopards.

erty and France!" are heard on all sides; it is rather the touching and animated spectacle of a civic festival than the terrible moment of shipwreck.

For a moment they must have deliberated on their fate. But no, citizens, they deliberate no longer. They see the English, and they see their country; they prefer to founder rather than to dishonor her by surrender; they do not waver; their last wishes are for the Republic and liberty. They disappear.[1]

Do not pity the Frenchmen who composed the crew of the *Vengeur;* do not pity them—they have died for their country; let us honor their fate and celebrate their virtues. A Pantheon rears itself in the midst of the central community of the Republic. This monument of national gratitude is visible from all the frontiers —let it be visible also from the midst of the ocean.

Until now we have conferred no honors upon the heroes of the sea; those of the land alone have obtained our homage. Why is it not pro-

[1] Renaudin, the captain of the *Vengeur*, reported as follows: "Soon disappeared both the ship and the luckless victims she carried. In the midst of the horror with which this heartrending picture inspired us, we could not deny ourselves a sentiment of mingled grief and admiration. We heard, as we pulled away, some of our comrades still framing prayers for their country. The last cries of these unfortunates were those of 'Vive la Republique'. They died uttering them. Several men came up, some on planks, others on masts, and still others on pieces of cordage. They were saved by boats, and taken aboard the English ships."

posed to you to suspend from the vault of the French Pantheon a model of the *Vengeur*, and to inscribe upon a pillar of the Pantheon the names of the brave Republicans who made up the crew of the ship, and the courageous act they have done?

It is by such honors that the memory of great men is perpetuated, and the seeds of greatness and virtue cast upon the soil of the Republic. Thus will the Pantheon, by a single decree of the National Convention, be changed into a terrible workshop, where, at the voice of the Republic, ships and sailors will come into being.

But it is not enough to create heroes by the influence of national rewards; we must also give back to the French navy the ship that the sea has swallowed up. No, the memory of the *Vengeur* shall not perish from among us, and this glorious name shall be given by your orders to the three-decker now building at Brest.

But are there not still more durable monuments to glory? Time, which tears down mountains and destroys the works of man, will not always respect those which the Republic erects, and in this world to ruins will succeed new ruins. Have we not other means of immortalizing the deeds we admire? Do not the acts of the celebrated men of antiquity, to whom were erected temples which are no more, still live in pictures and in writings? It is for the poets, sculptors and painters to depict the episode of the *Vengeur;* it is for their solacing verses, it is

for their grateful brushes and chisels to repeat to posterity what the founders of the Republic thought great, noble, or useful. The monuments erected to the heroes of Homer exist no longer save in his verses. The fame of Agricola reposes no more in the urn made by a celebrated artist; it breathes again in the writings of Tacitus. Let us, then, open an honorable competition in poetry, sculpture and painting, and let national prizes, awarded at a civic festival, regenerate art and encourage artists; or, rather, David, take up thy brush again, and let thy genius wrest from the bosom of the sea the famous vessel whose crew has wrested admiration from the English themselves.[1]

Frenchmen, be brave and great like the Republicans who manned the *Vengeur,* and England will soon be destroyed. Free the seas from these pirates and traffickers in men, and the shades of the sailors who immortalized themselves upon the *Vengeur* will rejoice together in their tomb hollowed in the depths of the sea.

[1] The Convention passed a formal vote embodying all of Barère's suggestions, including the artistic and literary competitions.

NAPOLEON

I

TO THE ARMY IN ITALY[1]

(1796)

Born in 1769, died in 1821; served in Corsica and at Toulon in 1793; went to Italy in 1794; to Egypt in 1798; executed coup d'état of Brumaire in 1799, won the Battle of Marengo in 1800; made Consul for life in 1802; Emperor in 1804; won the Battle of Austerlitz in 1805, Jena and Friedland in 1807; fled from Moscow in 1812; lost the Battle of Leipsic in 1813; abdicated April 11, 1814; escaped from Elba in February, 1815; defeated at Waterloo in June, 1815; exiled to St. Helena in October of the same year.

SOLDIERS, you have, in fifteen days, gained six victories, taken twenty-one stand of colors, fifty pieces of cannon, several fortified places, made fifteen hundred prisoners, and killed or wounded over ten thousand men. You are the equals of the conquerors of Holland and of the Rhine.

Destitute of everything, you have supplied yourselves with everything. You have won battles without cannon, crossed rivers without bridges, made forced marches without shoes, bivouacked without spirituous liquor, and often

[1] Delivered early in May, 1796, or soon after he had taken command in Italy. He had relieved Scherer in March. The Battle of Lodi was won a few days later (May 10), and Arcole on November 15-17. Napoleon's speeches, with a few exceptions, were proclamations; but in form and spirit, they were orations. This speech was translated "by a member of the New York Bar," for Cormenin's "Eminent Orators of France."

without bread. The Republican phalanxes—the soldiers of liberty, were alone capable of enduring what you have suffered.

Thanks to you, soldiers! your country has a right to expect of you great things. You have still battles to fight, cities to take, rivers to pass. Is there one among you whose courage flags? One who would prefer returning to the sterile summits of the Apennines and the Alps, to undergo patiently the insults of that slavish soldiery? No, there is not one such among the victors of Montenotte, of Millesimo, of Diego, and of Mondovi!

Friends, I promise you that glorious conquest: but be the liberators of peoples, be not their scourges!

II

TO THE ARMY OF ITALY AGAIN[1]

(1796)

SOLDIERS! You have precipitated yourselves like a torrent from the Apennines. You have overwhelmed or swept before you all that opposed your march. Piedmont, delivered from Austrian oppression, has returned to her natural sentiments of peace and friendship toward France. Milan is yours, and over all Lombardy floats the flag of the Republic.

[1] Delivered on May 15, 1796, a few days after the Battle of Lodi. The translation was made for "Sargent's Standard Speaker." (1859.)

To your generosity only do the Dukes of Parma and of Modĕna now owe their political existence. The army which proudly threatened you finds no remaining barrier of defense against your courage. The Po, the Tessīno, the Adda, could not stop you a single day. Those vaunted ramparts of Italy proved insufficient; you traversed them as rapidly as you did the Apennines. Successes so numerous and brilliant have carried joy to the heart of your country! Your representatives have decreed a festival, to be celebrated in all the communes of the Republic, in honor of your victories. There will your fathers, mothers, wives, sisters, all who hold you dear, rejoice over your triumphs, and boast that you belong to them.

Yes, soldiers, you have done much; but much still remains for you to do. Shall it be said of us that we knew how to conquer, but not to profit by victory? Shall posterity reproach us with having found a Capŭa in Lombardy? Nay, fellow soldiers! I see you already eager to cry "To arms!" Inaction fatigues you! and days lost to glory are to you days lost to happiness.

Let us, then, begone! We have yet many forced marches to make, enemies to vanquish, laurels to gather, and injuries to avenge! Let those who have sharpened the poniards of civil war in France, who have pusillanimously assassinated our ministers, who have burned our vessels at Toulon—let them now tremble! The hour of vengeance has knolled!

But let not the people be disquieted. We are the friends of every people: and more especially of the descendants of the Brutuses, the Scipios, and other great men to whom we look as bright exemplars. To reestablish the Capitol; to place there with honor the statues of the heroes who made it memorable; to rouse the Roman people, unnerved by many centuries of oppression—such will be some of the fruits of our victories. They will constitute an epoch for posterity.

To you, soldiers, will belong the immortal honor of redeeming the fairest portion of Europe. The French people, free and respected by the whole world, shall give to Europe a glorious peace, which shall indemnify it for all the sacrifices which it has borne the last six years. Then, by your own firesides you shall repose; and your fellow citizens, when they point out any one of you, shall say: "*He* belonged to the army of Italy!"

III

SPEECH TO THE DIRECTORY[1]

(1797)

CITIZENS, the French people, in order to be free, had kings to combat. To obtain a Constitution founded on reason, it had the prejudices of eighteen centuries to overcome, The Constitution of the year 3 and you have triumphed over all obstacles. Religion, feudalism, royalty have successively for twenty centuries past governed Europe; but from the peace which you have just concluded dates the era of republican governments.

You have succeeded in organizing the great nation whose vast territory is circumscribed only because Nature herself has fixed its limits. You have done more. The two finest countries in Europe, formerly so renowned for the arts, the sciences, and the great men whose cradle they were, see with the greatest hopes genius and freedom issuing from the tomb of their ancestors.

[1] Delivered on December 10, 1797, soon after his arrival in Paris, victorious from Italy and bringing the Treaty of Campo Formio. The *Moniteur* of Paris, in its report of this speech, said the speaker's "simple and modest countenance contrasted with his great reputation." According to St. Amand the speech, "delivered in a jerky voice with a tone of command, produced a deeper impression than would have done the voice of the most famous orators of the century." The translation was made for Thiers's "History of the French Revolution."

These are two pedestals on which the destinies are about to place two powerful nations.

I have the honor to deliver to you the treaty signed at Campo Formio, and ratified by his majesty, the emperor. Peace insures the liberty, prosperity, and the glory of the Republic. When the happiness of the French people shall be seated on better organic laws, all Europe shall become free.

IV

DURING THE EGYPTIAN CAMPAIGN[1]

(1798)

SOLDIERS, you are a wing of the army of England! You are masters of the modes of warfare appropriate to mountains, to plains, to sieges. Naval war remains to complete your experience. The Roman legions whom you have sometimes imitated, but not as yet equaled, fought Carthage successively upon this sea and upon the plains of Zama. Victory never forsook them, because they were constantly brave, patient of fatigue, well disciplined, resolute. But, soldiers, Europe has her eyes upon you! You have great destinies to fulfil, battles to fight, fatigues to surmount!

Frenchmen, you are about to undertake a conquest of which the effects upon the civilization and commerce of the world are incalculable.

[1] Translated "by a member of the New York Bar."

The first city you are to meet was founded by Alexander.

Cadis, Sheiks, Imans, Chorbadgys, you will be told that I came to destroy your religion; do not believe it. Let your answer be that I come to re-establish your rights and punish your usurpers, and that I have more respect than the Mamelukes for your god, his prophet, and the Koran.

Tell your people that all men are equal before God. Wisdom, talent, and virtue make the only difference between them.

But, is there a fine country? It is appropriated by the Mamelukes. Is there a beautiful slave, a fine horse, a fine house? All this belongs to the Mamelukes. If Egypt be their farm, let them show the lease which God has given them of it! But God is just and merciful to the people. The Egyptians will be called to fill the public stations. Let the wisest, the most enlightened, the most virtuous govern, and the people will be happy.

You had formerly large cities, great canals, a flourishing commerce. What has ruined them all if not the avarice, the injustice, and the tyranny of the Mamelukes?

Cadis, Sheiks, Imans, Chorbadgys, tell the people that we, too, are true Mussulmans. Is it not we who demolished the pope, the great enemy of the Mussulmans? Are we not the friends of the grand seignior?

Thrice happy those who shall be found on our side! They will prosper in fortune and rank.

Happy those who shall remain neutral! They will have time to know the result, and then will join us.

But woe, eternal woe, to those who take arms in favor of the Mamelukes and fight against us! There will be no hope for them; they will perish!

Sheiks, Ulemans, believers of Mohammed, make known to the people that those who have been enemies to *me* will find no refuge either in this world or the other. Is there a man so blind as not to see that Destiny itself directs *my* operations?[1]

V

ON THE ANNIVERSARY OF AUSTERLITZ[2]

(1806)

SOLDIERS, it is this day a year ago, at this very hour, that we were upon the memorable plain of Austerlitz. The Russian battalions fled appalled. Their allies are no more. Their fortresses, their capitals, their magazines, their arsenals, two

[1] Napoleon's famous remark at the Pyramids was not part of any of these speeches. As Thiers relates the incident, the army on its march suddenly came within sight of "the gigantic Pyramids gilded by the sun," and then "halted as if seized with curiosity and admiration." With his face "beaming with enthusiasm," Napoleon "began to gallop before the ranks of the soldiers," and pointing to the Pyramids exclaimed "consider that from the summits of these Pyramids forty centuries have their eyes fixed upon you." Thiers gives only these words.

[2] Translated "by a member of the New York Bar."

hundred and eighty stand of colors, seven hundred field-pieces, five grand strongholds are in our power.

The Oder, the Wasta, the Polish deserts, the inclement weather, nothing has been able to arrest your course—all have fled before you. The French eagle hovers over the Vistula. The brave and unfortunate Poles imagine they behold again the legions of Sobieski.

Soldiers, we shall not lay down our arms until a general peace has restored to our commerce its freedom and its colonies. We have conquered on the Elba and the Oder, Pondicherry, our Indian establishments, the Cape of Good Hope, and the Spanish colonies. Who should give the Russians the hope of balancing the destinies? Are not they and we the soldiers of Austerlitz?

VI

TO HIS SOLDIERS AT FONTAINEBLEAU[1]

(1814)

SOLDIERS, I bid you farewell. For twenty years that we have been together your conduct has left me nothing to desire. I have always found you on the road to glory. All the powers of Europe have combined in arms against *me*.

A few of my generals have proved untrue to their duty and to France. France herself has

[1] After h's abdication, April 20, 1814. Translated "by a member of the New York Bar."

desired other destinies; with you and the brave men who still are faithful, I might have carried on a civil war; but France would be unhappy. Be faithful, then, to your new king, be obedient to your new commanders, and desert not our beloved country.

Do not lament my lot; I will be happy when I know that you are so. I might have died; if I consent to live, it is still to promote your glory. I will write the great things that we have achieved.

I can not embrace you all, but I embrace your general. Come, General Petit, that I may press you to my heart! Bring me the eagle, that I may embrace it also! Ah! dear eagle, may this kiss which I give thee find an echo to the latest posterity! Adieu, my children; the best wishes of my heart shall be always with you: do not forget me!

VII

AFTER THE RETURN FROM ELBA[1]

(1815)

SOLDIERS, behold the officers of battalion who have accompanied me in my misfortune: they are all my friends; they are dear to my heart. Every time I saw them, they represented to me the several regiments of the army. Among these six

[1] Spoken at the Tuileries, the day after his arrival. Translated "by a member of the New York Bar."

hundred brave men, there are soldiers of every regiment; all brought me back those great days whose memory is so dear to me, for all were covered with honorable scars received in those memorable battles. In loving them, it is you all, soldiers of the French army, that I loved.

* * * * * * *

They bring you back these eagles; let them be your rallying-point. In giving them to the Guard, I give them to the whole army. Treachery and untoward circumstances had wrapped them in a shroud; but, thanks to the French people and to you, they reappear resplendent in all their glory. Swear that they shall always be found when and wherever the interest of the country may call them! Let the traitors and those who would invade our territory, be never able to endure their gaze.

CARNOT

AGAINST SETTING UP AN EMPEROR[1]

(1802)

Born in 1753, died in 1823; elected to the Assembly in 1791, to the Convention in 1792; a member of the Directory in 1795, serving until 1797; a Tribune from 1802 to 1807; because of his success as War Minister from 1793 to 1795, called the "organizer of victory"; Minister of the Interior under Napoleon in 1815.

AMONG the orators who have preceded me, and who have touched on the motion of our colleag, Curée, several, anticipating the objections that might be made, have responded with as much talent as amenity. They have given an example of a moderation which I shall endeavor to imitate.

I am far from desiring to diminish the praises accorded the first consul; if we owed him only the civil code, his name would worthily be immortalized. But whatever the services a citizen has rendered, he must expect honors only to the extent of the national recognition. If the citizen has restored liberty, if he has been a benefactor, would it be a proper recompense to offer him the sacrifice of that liberty? Nay! would it not be an annulment of his own work if we

[1] Delivered in Paris in 1802. After the Empire was proclaimed Carnot went into retirement, spending much of his time at the French Institute. An old translation revised for this collection.

were to convert that country into his private patrimony?

From the very moment when it was proposed to the French people to make the consulate an office for life, each easily saw there was a mental reservation with an ulterior purpose and end to the proposal. In effect, there was to be seen in rapid succession a series of institutions evidently monarchical; but at each move anxiety was shown to reassure disturbed and inquiring spirits on the score of liberty, that these new institutions were conceived only to procure the highest protection desired for liberty.

To-day is uncovered and developed in the most positive manner the meaning of so many of these preliminary measures. We are asked to act upon a formal proposition to reestablish the monarchical system, and to confer an imperial and hereditary dignity on the first consul.

At that time I voted against a life consulate; I shall vote now against any reestablishment of a monarchy, as I believe it to be my duty to do. But this was done with no desire to evoke partizanship; without personal feeling, without any sentiment save a passion for the public good, which impels me to the defense of the popular cause.

I fully submit to existing laws, even when they are most displeasing. More than once I have been a victim of my devotion to law, and I shall not begin to retrograde to-day. I declare, therefore, that while I combat this proposition, just

so from the moment that a new order of things shall have been established, after having received the assent of the mass of our citizens, I shall be first to conform my actions to it; to give to the supreme authority all the marks of deference commanded by the constitutional oligarchy. Can every member of society record a vow as sincere and disinterested?

I shall not force into the discussion my preference for the general merits of any one system of government over another. On these subjects there are numberless volumes written. I shall charge myself with examining in few words, and in the simplest terms, the particular case in which present circumstances place us. All the arguments thus far made for the reestablishment of monarchy in France are reduced to the statement that it is the only method of assuring the stability of the government and public tranquillity, the only escape from internal disorder, the sole bond of union against external enemies. We are told that the republican system has been vainly tried in all possible manners, and that from these efforts only anarchy has come. A prolonged and ceaseless revolution has reawakened perpetual fear of new disorders, and consequently a deep and universal desire to see reestablished the old hereditary government, changing only the dynasty. To this we must make reply.

I remark here that the government of a single person is no assurance of a stable and tranquil

government. The duration of the Roman Empire was no longer than that of the Roman Republic; while internecine troubles became greater, crimes more multiplied. The pride of republicanism, the heroism, and the masculine virtues were replaced by the most ridiculous vanity, the vilest adulation, the boldest cupidity, the most absolute indifference to national prosperity. Where was found any remedy in the heredity of the throne? Was it not regarded as the legitimate heritage of the house of Augustus? Was a Domitian not the son of Vespasian, a Caligula the son of Germanicus, a Commodus the son of Marcus Aurelius?

In France, it is true, the last dynasty maintained itself for eight hundred years, but were the people any the less oppressed? What were not the internal dissensions? What the foreign wars undertaken for pretensions and rights of succession, and which gave birth to the alliances of this dynasty with foreign nations? From the moment that a nation espouses the particular interests of one family, she is compelled to intervene in a multitude of matters which but for this would be to her a matter of utmost indifference. We have hardly succeeded in establishing a Republic among us, notwithstanding that we have tried it under various forms, more or less democratic.

After the Peace of Amiens, Napoleon had choice between the republican and monarchical systems; he could do as he pleased, and he would

have met only the slightest opposition. The citadel of liberty was confided to him; he swore to defend it; and, holding his promise, he should have fulfilled the desire of the nation which judged him alone capable of solving the great problem of public liberty in its vast extent. He might have covered himself with incomparable glory. Instead of that, what is being done today? They propose to make over to him the absolute and hereditary property of a great power of which he was made the administrator. Is this the real desire and to the real interest of the first consul himself? I do not believe it.

It is true the State was falling into a state of dissolution, and that absolutism pulled it from the edge of the abyss. But what do we conclude from that? What all the world knows—that political bodies are subject to affections which can be cured only by violent remedies; that sometimes a dictator for a moment is necessary to save liberty. The Romans, who were so jealous of it, recognized the necessity of this supreme power at intervals. But because a violent remedy has saved a patient, must there be a daily administration of violent remedies? Fabius, Cincinnatus, Camillus saved Rome by the exercise of absolute power, but they relinquished this power as soon as practicable; they would have killed Rome had they continued to wield it. Cæsar was the first who desired to keep this power. He became its victim, and liberty was lost for futurity. Thus everything that has

ever been said up to this day on absolute government proves only the necessity for temporary dictatorships in crises of the state, not the establishment of a permanent and irresponsible power.

It is not from the character of their government that great republics have lacked stability; it is because, having been born in the breasts of storms, it was always in a state of exaltation that they were established. One only was the labor of philosophy, and was organized calmly. That republic, the United States of America, full of wisdom and of strength, exhibits this phenomenon, and each day their prosperity shows an increase which astonishes other nations. Thus it was reserved for the New World to teach the Old that existence is possible and peaceable under the rule of liberty and equality. I state this proposition: that when a new order of things can be established without fearing partizan influences, as the first consul has done, principally after the peace of Amiens, and as he can still do, it becomes much easier to form a republic without anarchy than a monarchy without despotism. For how can we conceive a limitation which would not be illusory in a government of which the chief had all the executive power in his hand and all the places to bestow on whom he chose?

They have spoken of institutions to produce all these good effects. But before we propose to establish a monarchy, should we not first assure ourselves and demonstrate to those who are to vote on the question, that these institutions are

in the order of possible things, and not metaphysical obstructions, which have been held a reproach to the opposite system? Up to this moment nothing has been successfully invented to curb supreme power except what are called intermediary bodies or privileges. Is it, then, of a new nobility you would speak when you allude to institutions? But such remedies—are they not worse than the disease? For the absolute power of a monarch takes only our liberty, while the institution of privileged classes robs us at the same time of our liberty and our equality. And if even at the beginning dignities and ranks were only personal, we know they would end always as the fiefs of other times ended—in becoming hereditary.

Is it hoped, in raising this new dynasty, to hasten the period of general peace? Will it not rather be a new obstacle? Are we assured that the other great powers of Europe will assent? And if they do not, must we take up arms to constrain them? Or after having sunk the title of first consul in that of emperor, will Napoleon be content to remain first consul to the rest of Europe while he is emperor only to Frenchmen, or shall we compromise by a vain title the security and prosperity of the entire nation?

It appears, therefore, infinitely doubtful if the new order of things can give us the stability of the present state. There is for the government one method of consolidation and strength.

It is to make it just. Let no favoritism or bias be of avail to influence its services. Let there be a guarantee against robbery and fraud. It is far from me to desire to make any particular application of my language or to criticize the conduct of the government. It is against arbitrary power itself I appeal, and not against those in whose hands this power may reside. Has liberty, then, been shown to man in France, in order that he may never enjoy it? Shall it always be held up to his gaze as a fruit that when he extends the hand to grasp it he must be stricken with death? And Nature, which has made liberty such a pressing need to us, does she really desire to betray our confidence? No! I shall never believe that this human good, so universally preferred to all others—and without which all others are nothing—is a simple illusion. My heart tells me that liberty is possible, that its régime is easier and more stable than any arbitrary government, than any oligarchy.

LAMARTINE

TO A DEPUTATION OF POLES[1]

(1848)

Born in 1790, died in 1869; active as an Orator and Leader in public affairs; Minister of Foreign Affairs during the Provisional Government of 1848; his chief fame due to his writings as Poet and Historian.

FRANCE owes you not only good wishes and tears, but moral and eventual assistance in return for the Polish blood with which you have bedewed every battlefield in Europe during our great wars. France will pay her debt; rely on that; trust to the hearts of thirty-six millions of Frenchmen. Only leave to France that which exclusively belongs to her—the season, the moment, and the form, of which providence shall determine the choice and suitability, to restore you, without aggression or bloodshed, to that place which is your due in the catalog of nations.

You may be acquainted with the principles which the provisional government of the Republic has universally adopted in its foreign policy. In case you are not, let me recapitulate them: The Republic is undoubtedly republican, and she openly proclaims it to the world; but the Repub-

[1] **Delivered in 1848 when he was minister of foreign affairs of the French provisional government. Abridged. An old translation revised for this collection.**

lic is not at open or secret war with any nation or existing government so long as these nations and governments do not declare themselves at war with her.

She will not, therefore, commit or voluntarily suffer to be committed any act of violence or aggression against the Germanic nations. They, at this moment, are occupied in modifying their internal system of confederation, and in assuring the security and rights of those peoples who can claim a place among them. We should be either mad or traitors to the liberty of the world were we to interrupt this labor by warlike demonstrations, and were we to change into hostility, apprehension, or hatred the tendency to freedom that now makes them lean toward us and toward you.

What moment do you bid us choose for this measure, so utterly opposed to right policy and liberty! Is the treaty of Pilnitz being revived against us? Does a coalition of the despotic monarchs now threaten our frontiers and yours? No. You see, each courier brings us tiding of the victorious acclamation with which people adopt our principles and strengthen our cause, precisely because we have declared that these principles are those of respect for the rights, wishes, forms, government, and territories of nations. Are the results of the external policy of the government so discouraging that we must compel them to change it by force and present ourselves on the frontiers with a sword instead of with freedom and peace?

No; this policy, alike firm and pacific, answers the expectations of the Republic too well for us to change it before the hour when the powers shall change it of themselves. Look at Belgium; look at Switzerland, at Italy, at all the south of Germany; look at Vienna, Berlin. What more do you need? The very possessors of your territories open a path for you to your country and call on you to reconstitute them peacefully. Be not unjust toward God, toward the Republic, or toward us. The nations sympathizing with Germany, the king of Prussia opening the gates of his fortresses to your martyrs, the gates of Poland opened, Cracow freed, the grand duchy of Posen again a Polish province—such are the weapons with which one month of our policy has supplied you.

Ask no others at our hands. The provisional government will not suffer its policy to be changed by a foreign nation, however great the sympathy that may be inspired. Poland is dear to us; Italy is dear to us; all oppressed peoples are dear to us; but France to us is dearer than all, and the responsibility of her destinies, and possibly those of Europe, rests with us. We will surrender this responsibility to the nation alone. Trust to the nation and to the future; trust to those last thirty days which have already gained for the cause of French democracy more ground than thirty pitched battles could have gained, and do not disturb by force of arms, or by an agitation which would only injure our common

cause, the work which providence accomplishes without other arms than its ideas for the regeneration of the people and the fraternity of the human race.

As Poles you have spoken admirably. As for us it is our duty to speak as Frenchmen. We must both of us fulfil our respective duties. As Poles you are justly impatient to fly to the land of your fathers, and to respond to the appeal which the already liberated portion of Poland has made to her generous sons. We can only applaud this sentiment and furnish, as you desire, all those pacific means which will aid the Poles in returning to their country, and can only rejoice at the commencement of independence at Posen.

We, as Frenchmen, have not to consider the interests of Poland alone; we have to consider the universality of that European policy which corresponds to all the horizons of France and all those interests of liberty of which the French Republic is the second outbreak, and we trust the most glorious and the last, in Europe. The importance of these interests, the gravity of these resolutions, render it impossible for the provisional government of the Republic to surrender into the hands of any partial nationality—any party in a nation, however sacred its cause may be—the responsibility and freedom of its resolutions.

If the policy toward Poland, forced upon us under the monarchy, be no longer the line of pol-

icy dictated by the Republic, the latter at least has spoken to the world in terms to which we will adhere: the Republic will suffer no power on the face of the earth to say to her: "Your words are different from your actions." The Republic must and will not act in contradiction to her word; the respect paid to it is purchased at this price, and she will never suffer it to fall into disrepute by falsifying it.

What were her expressions in her manifesto to the powers? Her thoughts were with you when she said that on the day when it shall seem to us that the moment has arrived for the resurrection of a nation unjustly effaced from the map, we shall hasten to its assistance. But we have reserved to ourselves that which pertains to France alone—the choice of time, justice, and the reasons which would make it our duty to interfere.

Well, up to this moment we have chosen and resolved that these means shall be pacification. See yourselves, and let France and Europe see, if these pacific means have deceived us or deceived you. In thirty-one days the natural and peaceful results of this system of peace and fraternity which we have declared we would adopt have proved of more avail to the cause of France, liberty, and Poland herself than ten battles and torrents of human blood.

Such is the progress of the Republic, thanks to this system of respect for the freedom of the land and the blood of mankind. We shall never

retreat into another system. The straight path, rest assured, will lead us to that disinterested object we seek to attain far better than the tortuous paths of diplomacy. Do not seek to induce us to deviate from it, even through the fraternal sentiments we entertain toward you. Our reason restrains and guides our feelings toward Poland.

Suffer us to listen to the promptings of this sentiment in the full freedom of our thoughts, and learn that these thoughts do not separate two people whose blood has so often mingled on the battle-plain. Our care for you, like our hospitality, shall extend to your own frontiers; our eyes shall follow you into your own country. Bear thither with you the hope of that regeneration which begins for you in Prussia, where your banner floats at Berlin. France asks no other return for the asylum she has afforded you than the amelioration of your national destinies and the recollections you will carry home with you of the French name.

HUGO

IN DEFENSE OF HIS SON[1]

(1851)

Born in 1802, died in 1885; to his great career as an Author is to be added the fact that he was exiled from France in 1851, remaining absent until 1870, and that he was elected a Life Member of the French Senate in 1876.

GENTLEMEN OF THE JURY:—If there is a culprit here, it is not my son—it is myself—it is I!—I, who for these last twenty-five years have opposed capital punishment—have contended for the inviolability of human life—have committed this crime, for which my son is now arraigned. Here I denounce myself, Mr. Advocate General! I have committed it under all aggravated circumstances—deliberately, repeatedly, tenaciously. Yes, this old and absurd *lex talionis*—this law of blood for blood—I have combated all my life—all my life, gentlemen of the jury! And, while I have breath, I will continue to combat it, by all my efforts as a writer, by all my words and all my votes as a legislator! I declare it before the crucifix; before that victim of the pen-

[1] Hugo's son, Charles, was put on trial in Paris on June 11, 1851, charged with disrespect to the laws, in that he had severely criticized the sentence and execution of one Montcharmant. Charles Hugo was found guilty and sentenced to six months in prison and a fine of five hundred francs.

alty of death, who sees and hears us; before that gibbet, to which, two thousand years ago, for the eternal instruction of the generations, the human law nailed the Divine!

In all that my son has written on the subject of capital punishment—and for writing and publishing which he is now before you on trial—in all that he has written, he has merely proclaimed the sentiments with which, from his infancy, I have inspired him. Gentlemen jurors, the right to criticize a law, and to criticize it severely—especially a penal law—is placed beside the duty of amelioration, like a torch beside the work under the artisan's hand. This right of the journalist is as sacred, as necessary, as imprescriptible, as the right of the legislator.

What are the circumstances? A man, a convict, a sentenced wretch, is dragged, on a certain morning, to one of our public squares. There he finds the scaffold! He shudders, he struggles, he refuses to die. He is young yet—only twenty-nine. Ah! I know what you will say—"He is a murderer!" But hear me. Two officers seize him. His hands, his feet, are tied. He throws off the two officers. A frightful struggle ensues. His feet, bound as they are, become entangled in the ladder. He uses the scaffold against the scaffold! The struggle is prolonged. Horror seizes on the crowd. The officers—sweat and shame on their brows—pale, panting, terrified, despairing—despairing with I know not what horrible despair—shrinking under that

public reprobation which ought to have visited the penalty, and spared the passive instrument, the executioner—the officers strive savagely. The victim clings to the scaffold and shrieks for pardon. His clothes are torn—his shoulders bloody—still he resists.

At length, after three-quarters of an hour of this monstrous effort, of this spectacle without a name, of this agony—agony for all, be it understood—agony for the assembled spectators as well as for the condemned man—after this age of anguish, gentlemen of the jury, they take back the poor wretch to his prison. The people breathe again. The people, naturally merciful, hope that the man will be spared. But no—the guillotine, tho vanquished, remains standing. There it frowns all day in the midst of a sickened population. And at night, the officers, reinforced, drag forth the wretch again, so bound that he is but an inert weight—they drag him forth, haggard, bloody, weeping, pleading, howling for life—calling upon God, calling upon his father and mother—for like a very child had this man become in the prospect of death—they drag him forth to execution. He is hoisted on to the scaffold, and his head falls! And then through every conscience runs a shudder.

GAMBETTA

EDUCATION FOR THE PEASANTRY IN FRANCE[1]

Born in 1838, died in 1882; elected to the Corps Legislatif in 1869; after Sedan aided in the proclamation of the Republic, becoming Minister of the Interior; aided in organizing the national defenses, and escaped from Paris in a balloon while the city was invested by the Germans, acquiring almost a dictator's position until the capitulation of Paris; President of the Chamber of Deputies in 1879, and Prime Minister in 1881.

THE peasantry is intellectually several centuries behind the enlightened and educated classes in this country. The distance between them and us is immense. We have received a classical or scientific education—even the imperfect one of our day. We have learned to read our history, to speak our language, while (a cruel thing to say) so many of our countrymen can only babble! Ah! that peasant, bound as he is to the tillage of the soil, who bravely carries the burden of his day, with no other consolation than that of leaving to his children the paternal fields, perhaps increased an acre in extent; all his passions, joys, and fears concentrated in the fate of his patrimony. Of the external world, of the society in which he lives, he apprehends only legends and rumors. He is the prey of the cunning and fraudulent. He strikes, without knowing it,

[1] A contemporary translation revised for this collection.

the bosom of the revolution, his benefactress; he gives loyally his taxes and his blood to a society for which he feels fear as much as respect. But there his role ends, and if you speak to him of principles, he knows nothing of them.

It is to the peasantry, then, that we must address ourselves. We must raise and instruct them. Epithets which partizans have bandied of "rurality" and "rural chamber" must not become the cause of injustice. It is to be wished that there were a "rural chamber" in the profound and true sense of the term; for it is not with hobble-de-hoys that a "rural chamber" can be made, but with enlightened and free peasants who are able to represent themselves. Instead of becoming a cause of raillery, this reproach of a "rural chamber" should be a tribute rendered to the progress of the civilization of the masses. This new social force should be utilized for the general welfare.

Unfortunately we have not yet reached that point. Progress will be denied us as long as the French democracy fail to demonstrate that if we would remake our country, if we would bring back her grandeur, her power, and her genius, it is of vital interest to her superior classes to elevate and emancipate this people of workers, who hold in reserve a force still virgin but able to develop inexhaustible treasures of activity and aptitude. We must learn and then teach the peasant what he owes to Society and what he has the right to ask of her.

On the day when it shall be well understood that we have no grander or more pressing work; that we should put aside and postpone all other reforms; that we have but one task—the instruction of the people, the diffusion of education, the encouragement of science—on that day a great step will have been taken in your regeneration. But our action needs to be a double one, that it may bear upon the body as well as the mind. To be exact, each man should be intelligent, trained not only to think, read, and reason, but made able to act and fight. Everywhere beside the teacher we should place the gymnast and the soldier, to the end that our children, our soldiers, our fellow citizens, may be able to hold a sword, to carry a gun on a long march, to sleep under the canopy of the stars, to support valiantly all the hardships demanded of a patriot. We must push to the front education. Otherwise we only make a success of letters, but do not create a bulwark of partiots.

Yes, gentlemen, if you had to submit to the supreme agcny of seeing the France of Kléber and Hoche lose her two most patriotic provinces, those best embodying at once the military, commercial, industrial, and democratic spirit, we could blame only our inferior physical and moral condition. To-day the interests of the country command us to speak no imprudent words, to close our lips, to sink our resentments to the bottom of our hearts, in order to take up the grand work of national regeneration, to devote to it all

the time necessary, in order that it may become a lasting work. If it need ten years, if it need twenty years, then we must devote to it ten or twenty years. But we must begin at once, that each year may see the advancing life of a new generation, strong, intelligent, as much in love with science as with the Fatherland, having in their hearts the double sentiment that he serves his country well only when he serves it with his reason and his arm.

We have been educated in a rough school. We must therefore cure ourselves of the vanity which has caused us so many disasters. We must realize conscientiously where our responsibility exists, and, seeing the remedy, sacrifice all to the object to be attained—to remake and reconstitute France! For that, nothing should be accounted too good, and we shall ask nothing before this. The first demand must be for an education as complete from base to summit as is known to human intelligence. Naturally, merit must be recognized, aptitude awakened and approved, and honest and impartial judges freely chosen by their fellow citizens, deciding publicly in such a way that merit alone shall open the door. Reject as authors of mischief those who have put words in the place of action; all those who have put favoritism in the place of merit; all those who have made the profession of arms not a means for the protection of France, but a means of serving the caprices of a master, and sometimes of becoming accomplices in his crimes.

BARON D'ESTOURNELLES DE CONSTANT

FRANCE AND THE UNITED STATES[1]

(1902)

Born in 1852; Chargé d'Affaires in Tunis, Montenegro and Holland; first elected to the French Chamber in 1895; represented France at the Court of the Hague in 1899; a Minister Plenipotentiary of France of the first class.

BETWEEN France and America immense material progresses have been attained. It seemed once that a deep, bottomless gulf, an abyss, was separating for ever our two continents. Now thousands of bonds unite one to the other; the obstacles which separated them disappear. The ocean, daily traversed by steamers as big as floating hotels, as thick as cars on a tramway line, has been converted into a great roadway and is destined to become soon a crowded avenue. Distance has been annihilated. One thing still remains between our countries: ignorance. That is the veritable abyss, the ocean that has to be effaced. We do not know America. You do not know France. We see you through the mists of our prejudices. You believe we are very old. We believe you are very young. We are both wrong.

[1] From his address in Chicago on Washington's birthday, February 22, 1902. From a copy furnished by the Baron for this collection.

For centuries past, long before the Hundred Years' War, France has passed from crisis to crisis, each one so terrible that it threatened to be the last. During the religious wars, after the death of Louis XIV., after the death of Louis XV., before and after the first empire, before and after the second empire, prophets of evil have invariably despaired of her, and yet they all proved wrong. Every time she resurrected, young, elastic, living, eager to be useful. To be useful, that is her admirable tho ungrateful mission. France is the country of peculiar fruits; her soil, her climate, her unique geographical situation, the originality of her national character and her combination of enthusiasm and reflection make her a land of predilection; nature has blessed her. But in exchange for her advantages, she has great duties to accomplish; she has to contribute a large share to the development of universal progress in every shape. That is the mission which seems to superficial persons to keep her in a state of perpetual agitation. In fact, she is aglow with vitality; what seems to be convulsions are but her labor pains, and in the agony of her conflicts between caution and enthusiasm, the generous ideas which torment her triumph with so much the more expansion. France is open to ideas: she loves them, she discusses them, she fights for them; she experiments with them; she conceives or she harbors them, whether they be the noble thoughts that inspired the great Revolution,

whether they be practical inventions of science and industry.

No, France is not old; all that she needs is self-confidence. Come to visit her; you will render her the most important service by revealing to herself the resources she has not yet developed. Come all of you, not to Paris only, but to the towns of our provinces—from the ocean beaches to the shore of the Mediterranean, from the Alps to the Pyrenees, from Brittany to Provence, from Touraine to Dauphine; regions which are already rich, not only in incomparable memories of the past—museums, castles, cathedrals—but in promises and hope. Come, you will be received fraternally, with open arms; you will see that France, far from being a country coming to an end, opens, on the contrary, to the future; veritable garden of Europe; holiday country, nursery of ideas and of inventions; land of rest and labor; an oasis where every man in the world who works ought, some day or another, to come to renew his activity. Come and bring back some of us with you to your own land. We have moved far, to-day, from the times of Christopher Columbus; and it is here in Chicago, of all places, that one feels this most.

In very truth, the miracle of your transformation, as your cordiality and the magnificence of your welcome, surpasses anything that could have been conceived—even by a French imagination.

America, during the last fifty years, seems to

have been metamorphosed as by the touch of a magician's wand. Fifty years ago Europe flattered herself that she had discovered America. To-day she may continue to flatter herself, but her self-satisfaction is not unmixed with alarm. She is proud of her discovery of America, but she is alarmed at American discoveries. Fifty years ago you were her customers; to-day you have become her competitors. You have increased your production, both industrial and agricultural, in a few years, to such a point that our European markets are crowded with your merchandise, harvests, fruits, butters, tools, machinery, engines. You have grown so alarmingly quick, during these last fifty years, that it seems to me you are not so very young as we think.

Your marvelous progress, however, ought to surprise no one; for we say in France: "Good blood can not lie," and you have the best blood in Europe. Ignorant people call you Anglo-Saxons, but you protest; you know well that in your veins flows the blood of the most energetic and enterprising sons of the Old World. No doubt you have English blood, but the English themselves admit that the purest and the best of their blood is Norman. You have the blood of Holland—the name of your President Roosevelt is Dutch; you have the blood of Germany, of Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Italy, but how much more you have of the blood of France. With what emotion I find everywhere among you the living trace of our fathers; from the

South to the North, from New Orleans to St. Louis; yes, as far north as the State of Maine, which reminds me of my own natal province that I represent in the Parliament of Paris, as your Maine is represented in Congress at Washington.

We are of the same family; the only difference between us is that you made the journey here before me and in a time less refined which prepared you, by a merciless selection, to the great and universal struggle of life. So we may look at your progresses without alarm, for in you we find ourselves. Your progresses may perhaps alarm Europe, but not France, guaranteed as we are by the inimitable specialty of our production; there is no real competition possible between France and the United States; and it is Europe, not France, that may be threatened by American competition. And yet this need not be an economic evil, it might become a positive good; for your progress will oblige European nations to abandon their old-fashioned ideas, their red tape, their sterile antagonisms, in order to keep to the level of your economical development, or to find themselves distanced in the race, and thus the fear of American competition may be the beginning of European wisdom. You will have rendered an inestimable service to humanity if that so-called "American peril" may be transformed into the "American cure." You will not confine yourself to selling your goods to Europe; you will give us your examples, the example of your energy and of your wisdom.

We understand that so well in France that we send you more and more frequently delegates to study your science, your industry, your agriculture, and we are trying, just now, to found a French school or something of that kind in America. Why not? We have French schools in Italy, in Greece, in Egypt, where the *elite* of our youth studies the past; why should we not have in America similar schools looking forward to the future?

It is a true saying that a good deed is never lost. We helped you, of old, in the conquest of liberty, but you, in revenge, have taught us how it can be preserved. You have given us a type of the modern hero, whom I have come from so far to celebrate here to-day—Washington, your *"Chevalier sans peur et sans reproche."* Washington put his sword to the noblest use by fighting for your independence, but this independence, once assured, he respected. His victories have made him great, but he is greater still by his renunciation. Once his cause triumphant, he aimed not at power, but at retirement. Power weighed heavily upon him; he used it for the safety of the Republic, not, as so many others, for its destruction. Admirable example to those countries where conquerors of another type have sought, not to secure liberty, but to defeat it; admirable example to offer to the world, a hero who was in turn a conqueror and liberator, and who crowned Glory with Peace.

No country better than France has under-

stood the beauty of this great and almost superhuman figure, and the splendid words of Chateaubriand have never been surpassed:

"Search in the plains where flashed the sword of Washington. What find you there? Tombs? No; you find a World. Washington has left behind him the United States as a trophy of his battle-fields."

He did not destroy; he created. You are his handiwork. Let us unite, gentlemen, to honor his memory. Let us unite without distinction, French, Americans, all civilized nations. Washington is too great to belong to one nation only. He has served his country well, but he also served humanity. Humanity claims him, and just as you faithfully bring up your children to respect his French companions, Lafayette and Rochambeau, so we, also, teach ourselves, that the life of Washington is the most beautiful of which a good citizen can dream. And there springs up a new tradition, and this tradition, worthy of the new times upon the threshold of which we stand, arouses, in its turn, new ambitions, for the influence of great men survives them.

It is this influence that animated your representatives at the Congress of The Hague. Those who judge of things by appearances, the impatients, the restless, who want an oak to grow as fast as a blade of grass, are astonished that the conference at The Hague has not yet produced results. The present time is too near to permit

of our judging of its work. No one flatters himself that war can be rendered impossible, but a great change has taken place, and this change marks the opening of a new era in the world.

All the civilized powers have officially recognized the necessity of instituting an international tribunal. A court of arbitration has been created. The governments, it is true, are extremely slow in appealing to it, but public opinion, little by little enlightened as to its duties and its interests, will soon knock itself at her doors, and it is we, Americans and French, who will lead opinion along this way.

We have, therefore, to-day as much as ever, a great role to perform together. The brotherhood of our two countries has been fruitful in the past; we can make it still more fruitful in the future.

One hundred years ago our fathers fought for Independence; their victory, great as it was, is not yet complete.

Our Washington, our Lafayette, must never cease to be our guides; their voice bids us still to follow their flag, still to continue their work; let us harken to them. We are friends, but it is not enough to be friends; let us also be fellow soldiers. They gave to their descendants Liberty; we must give Peace to ours.

JAURÈS

IN THE DEBATE ON SOCIALISM WITH CLEMENCEAU[1]

(1906)

Born in 1859; became a Professor at Toulouse: elected to the French Chamber in 1885; returned to Toulouse and took part in the foundation of the Academy of Medicine; having become a Socialist, was elected to the French Chamber in 1893, becoming Chief of the Socialist Party and notable for his eloquence; active in the Dreyfus affair; a member of the Cabinet of Waldeck-Rousseau.

THE other day M. Millerand, when he brought to this tribunal certain projects regarding compulsory arbitration and the collective contract, said that it was necessary, so far as possible, to put an end to these strikes, which are, he added, an economic civil war. The economic civil war manifests itself by strikes on the surface of society; but it is not only in strikes that it exists. It is at the very bottom of society; it is at the very bottom of a system of property which gives power to some and inflicts servitude on others.

[1] The occasion of this speech was certain interpellations in the French Chamber in June, 1906, relative to the measures taken by the minister of the interior, M. Georges Clemenceau, to suppress disorders attending the great strikes which had just taken place in Paris. Jaurès began his speech on June 12, before a house "crowded with deputies and blossoming with elegant ladies in the galleries," and continued until the 14th. The orator was harassed throughout by the disorders and sarcastic interruptions for which the French Chamber is notorious. At one time he was forced to

The economic civil war, the social war, will continue—sometimes visibly, sometimes covertly, sometimes violently, sometimes sullenly, but always with the same sufferings, the same exasperation, the same iniquity, so long as the world of production be disputed by two antagonistic forces. There is no means—hear what I say, gentlemen—to reconcile definitely these two forces. You may palliate the strife, you may soften the shocks, but you can not remove the abiding, fundamental, antagonism resulting from the privilege of property itself. There is but one means to abolish this antagonism, and that is to reabsorb capital in labor—to make but one possessive and controlling force, the creative force of labor.

If ever there was an object of public utility, this is one; if ever there was an object, an interest which justifies the intervention of the law in the transformation of property, this is that object, this is that interest. It is idle for you to smile or jeer, for it is we who are in the right when we say to you: After having made use of the law of expropriation on the ground of public utility for the benefit of capital, after having put

pause and ask his auditors if it was their intention to make his task physically impossible. Jaurès finally descended from the tribune amid a storm of plaudits from his own party. His speech, by its rhetorical splendor, its sincerity and enthusiasm, its lofty tone and fervor of conception, made a profound impression not only in France but throughout the world. The accompanying extracts are from the second day's oration, as translated for this collection by Scott Robinson.

this law into force in order to permit capital to scatter railroads across the peasants' fields, to permit capital to establish great vested interests in your cities, after having made use of this law for the benefit of capitalistic might, the hour is come to make use of it for the benefit of labor demanding its rights.

Values to-day permit their holders either to purchase means of production and of profit or their products. In the transformed society, when the private capital of production and exploitation shall have been made social, when the social community shall have placed the means of production at the disposition of associated laborers, the indemnity values which shall have been given the capitalists of yesterday will permit them no longer to buy the means of production, of rent, and of profit: they will permit them to buy only the products of the transformed social activity.

Gentlemen, when the law abolished slavery and indemnified the slaveholders, the latter could not use this indemnity to buy slaves on the morrow. Similarly, when capitalistic property shall have become socialistic, the indemnity holders shall be able to purchase neither the means of production nor the producers: they shall be able to purchase products only. [Applause from the extreme left; uproar in the center and right.] What! You are astonished, you are scandalized that man should no longer purchase man!

Gentlemen, whatever be your judgment of to-

day or to-morrow upon the modalities of the social order which I have attempted summarily to portray from this tribune, you can not deny that you are here face to face with a doctrine which you may judge rash, which you may judge utopian, vain; but many another doctrine has been judged vain and has been denounced as utopian by the privileged classes on the very eve of their advent in history. But be that as it may, it is face to face with a precise and debatable solution; it is face to face with an assertion that you can lay hold of, that you can denounce; and then, whatever you may think of our doctrines, whatever you may think of a system which affirms that there can be no liberty for man save in the social appropriation of private capital, I repeat, a precise doctrine is before you.

And when we address ourselves to the proletariat, when we address ourselves to the workmen, when we point it out to them, and when we remind them of the evils which they suffer (and we are not backward, gentlemen, in stating these sufferings and these injuries), we say to the proletariat, at the risk of bringing down upon ourselves the animosity of this enormous power of those privileged classes which ignore the very thought of a proletariat party: "Behold the cause of your sufferings; behold the root of your evils!" And it is to prove to you, gentlemen, that we seek not to aggravate these miseries, but to cure them; that knowing well the hostility and the satire with which the exposition of a new

form of society must necessarily come into collision in an assembly like this, I have, nevertheless, here made this exposition of our doctrines—as we have been making it outside as well as here for many years, ever since there has been a socialist party. But because we make it, because we take this responsibility, we have the right, after brushing aside these mockeries of an hour, to turn, not to the parties of conservatism and reaction, but toward the parties which assert themselves as of the democracy and of progress, and to demand of them: "And you, what is your doctrine, and what are you going to do? Yes, what can you do for the liberation and the organization of labor?"

Gentlemen, you who listen to me from the left of this assembly, all you radicals and republicans—and I beseech you to believe that in all this I do not address to you a word of provocation or of defiance, but the word of one republican to other republicans—to you I say: "We did great things together when we saved the Republic from the peril of Cæsarism, when we emancipated civil society from the wrecks of theocracy; but now, this grand task accomplished, now that the hour is come for all of us to give, if not all our effort, at least our principal effort, to that which we term, one and all, the social reform, it is necessary, after the socialists have stated their doctrine and their method, that you should tell us how it is that you conceive the social evolution.

It will not do to tell me that the mind of man

is uncertain, doomed to difficulties, and gropings. You[1] said at Lyons in admirable language: "I am, like you all, a fallible man, searching, groping in the darkness." Yes, indeed, we are all fallible men, but there come times in history when men must take sides. One hundred and fifteen years ago, when burst out that great Revolution of which you are the descendant by blood and in mind, certainly all those men—Mirabeau, Vergniaud, Robespierre, Condorcet—were liable to uncertainty and error? They opposed system to system, conception to conception, but also, at the risk of shock, they decided, they dared; they knew that the old world was ended, decomposed, that it was necessary to clear away its ruins and to institute a new society and, at the risk of clash and distraction, they brought forward, one and another, plans, conceptions, and systems. And it was not by the gropings of a superb modesty, but by the largeness and the boldness of well-reflected affirmation that they abolished the old world and created the new.

[1] That is M. Georges Clemenceau, then minister of the interior.

CLEMENCEAU

IN THE DEBATE ON SOCIALISM WITH JAURÈS[1]

(1906)

Born in 1841; elected Mayor of Montmartre, and then for many years a Deputy in the French Chamber, where he became the leader of the Radical party; prominent during the administrations of Gambetta (1882), Ferry (1885), and Brisson (1886); active against Boulanger in 1885; defeated in 1893, he devoted himself exclusively to his newspaper, *La Justice*, advocating among other things a revision of the action against Dreyfus; returning to public life, he served as Minister of the Interior, and in October, 1906, became Prime Minister

I WISH at the outset to render full homage to the noble passion for social justice which so magnificently animates the eloquence of M. Jaurès. In an irresistible impulse of idealism he wishes the happiness of all humanity and we are witnesses that he would spare nothing to assure this happiness. To the chords of his lyre Amphion modestly erected the walls of Thebes. At the voice of M. Jaurès a still greater miracle is ac-

[1] In this reply to Jaurès the brilliant and caustic Clemenceau, while minister of the interior, championed the cause of democracy and sought to dissipate the theories and disprove the claims of the new society as expounded by the Socialist leader. As summed up by *L'Aurore*, "M. Jaurès professes the German philosophy of what may be; Clemenceau holds to the English philosophy of what is." As Clemenceau had previously not spoken in the French Chamber for thirteen years, his oration was awaited with

complished! He speaks, and all the historical organizations of human societies suddenly crumble.

All that man has ever conceived of a social order, all that he has ever wished, all that he has realized of justice, commencing in pain, in sorrow, in blood, since the day when he burst from his caverns to the conquest of his earth, all the secular effort for a better life, all the progress acquired at the price of a labor figured perhaps by millions of years—victory! all that resolves itself into dust; all that enshrouds itself in smoke, and if your eye wishes to follow this smoke into the heavens you there behold a new prodigy; for in sumptuous clouds enchanted palaces rear themselves, whence is banished all human misery. There remains only to fix them in the air and to seat their foundations among us in order that the work of Genesis be reformed for ever.

The social evil that Jehovah could not eliminate from His work shall disappear. There shall remain to us only the evils of human conditions—sufficient, in all conscience. Alas! while this pompous mirage unfolds itself before the charmed gaze of the new creator, I, vacillating

intense interest, and accorded at times great outbursts of enthusiastic applause. He lost no opportunity for indulging in the biting wit and faculty for stinging retort for which he is celebrated. When Jaurès took the tribune to speak again, he described himself as "all bristling with barbs, launched at me by a hand, skilful and always young." M. Clemenceau's speech occupied the greater part of the session of June 18 and 19. Abridged. Translated by Scott Robinson.

mortal that I am, labor miserably in the plain, even in the far depths of the valley, struggling with an ungrateful soil which doles me out a niggardly harvest. Hence the difference between our points of view that his good will pardons me so hardly.

M. Jaurès, indeed, paid me the compliment of some floral offerings; but I soon discovered that when he did so it was for the purpose of immolating me more pompously upon the altar of collectivism, after having pronounced upon me a pitiless condemnation. But I do not pride myself in being one of that noble category of resigned victims, who stretch out an innocent neck to the sword of Calchas. I writhe, I struggle, I revolt, and when M. Jaurès explains to me that he has conceived a most unfavorable opinion of my policy, I appeal from this judgment to a superior judge—this Chamber, the exponent of a republican country.

I had thought that my acts would speak for me; I had thought that the hour would come when in this very place I could explain myself regarding them, face to face with my adversaries. That hour has come, and I take advantage of it to say at the outset that in my view those who act against the working class are those who encourage it in the crazy idea that wherever there is a workman who will respect neither the law nor the right there you have the working class; these are they who represent to him as his enemy the government charged with the maintenance of order.

I say that those who act against the working class are those who encourage it to believe that it can do no wrong, and that it suffices for it to visit upon others the oppressions from which it has itself suffered.

I say that those who act against the working class are those who thus retard its education, because education is not by words, as pedagogs profess and believe, but is achieved by deeds. We shall know that the working class is worthy to govern the democracy, as you desire and as I myself heartily wish, on the day when of its own free will it shall conform its acts to the right it demands.

Such is the education which must be given it. It learns nothing by discourses; could discourses teach the world, the Sermon on the Mount would have been realized long ago.

Without doubt, M. Jaurès, you dominate me from all the heights of your socialistic conceptions. You have the magic power of evoking fairy palaces with your wand, while I am as some modest laborer on a cathedral who obscurely carries a stone to the august edifice he shall never see. At the first puff of reality the fairy palace will vanish, whereas the republican cathedral will some day rear its spire into the skies.

Individual property, I assert, will be evolved for a long time to come; I assert that the relations of individual property and of social property will not remain as they now are; and when I say that I say nothing that any one can not

approve. So much is understood, the question is open, we shall discuss it as fully as you please; in the meantime I wish to brand the sophism upon which you have founded your right of expropriation. You have shown us both extreme wealth and extreme poverty; you have promised us that in six months you would find the means to remedy the evil you point out, and you have concluded: "Would not this society be better, juster, humaner? Reply, ere we launch the anathema!"

M. Jaurès, there are more than two hypotheses to submit to this Chamber; between the society of to-day and yours there are an infinite number of social conceptions which may be developed. You underestimate the task. Admitting even that your criticisms are well founded, that present society is as bad as you say it is (and I am not of those who pretend that it is very good, as you well know); admitting further that the society which you have conceived is actually realizable, you have still omitted a point which is worth the trouble of considering, and that is that we have not alone to choose between the society which you promise and society as it is. There are an infinite number of other hypotheses, and when I shall later on speak to you of the projects of social order which this much-abused middle-class Republic has nevertheless brought to success, I shall show you without difficulty that the social régime of to-day is not the social régime of twenty years ago, and that it is in truth founded upon absolutely different principles.

I can not, therefore, admit that you give us choice only between these two hypotheses, and that you have said the last word when you say to us: "Take care; if you do not accept my project the human mind is bankrupt." M. Jaurès, you must not confound the bankruptcy of the human mind with the bankruptcy of the mind of Monsieur Jaurès!

You are carrying it, permit me to say, a little too high with the men who until this day have been your collaborators. You show us the spectacle of those divinities of Hellenism who, upon the Acropolis of Athens, struggled one day for the accomplishment of a prodigious task: with your imperious scepter you strike the earth, you cause to emerge from it the type of the new society—these are your words—and you, turning toward us, say to us: "Do as much." Very good; it is not certain that this challenge can not be taken up. The alchemists sought the philosopher's stone: you have found it; you hold in your hand the magic formula which ought to solve everything—I do not say which will solve, since we do not yet know that it will—which ought to solve in six months the social question.

That is all very good, but the clear, critical spirit of modern France, which you do not appreciate because it inconveniences you at the present moment, has preserved us up to this time from these dreams. It is, however, natural that at the historical hour when the social question presents itself in all its amplitude that imagina-

tions should give themselves full play. So much is necessary to men who dare not look destiny full in the face: it is necessary to replace the lost religions which promised eternal happiness by the illusion of prophecies, by the terrestrial paradise about to be. Prophesy on; the generations who sleep far away in the future will not rise up from the ground to confound you.

In 1848 the Republic believed itself on the eve of the great day, and we saw many builders of future cities. Do you remember the sittings of the Constituent and of the Legislative Assemblies where Pierre Leroux, where Victor Considérant, where Proudhon detailed, as you are shortly about to do, plans of the new society? A very great number pronounced themselves in favor of the suppression of individual property. Long before them Thomas Morus, at the commencement of the sixteenth century, had condemned individual property in terms more definite than those which you could employ. These men were not inferior to you. Where are they now? Where? You have replaced them, as others will shortly replace you.

The truth is that we must distinguish, in the social organization, two things: the man and the environment. It appears more simple to theoretically reform the environment; every one goes about that at his pleasure, but if you consider that the environment of the social organization is, and can be only the product of successive human conceptions, you will see that to arbitra-

rily modify the social organization without troubling to find out if man is in a state to adapt himself to it can lead only to the most pronounced disorder. Thus even for those who pretend to remake the social organization all in the first instance turns upon the primordial reform of the individual. If you reform the individual, if you apply yourself, I do not say wholly but principally, to the reform of the human personality, man will be able to find for himself the form of organization which best suits him without troubling himself with your theories, without troubling himself with the prophecies you have made and which certainly can not be realized because you can not, unless you are a divinity yourself, foresee the result of human evolution.

In any case your conceptions are fatally defective in one point, and that is that the man whom you need for the realization of your future society does not yet exist, even tho your theories might be realized; and when this man shall exist, if he ever should exist, he will employ his own intelligence in his own way without troubling himself with the path which you have taken upon yourself to trace out for him. You pretend directly to construct the future, while we construct the man who will construct the future, and in so doing we are achieving a phenomenon much greater than your own. We are not constructing a man already made for our city; we take the man such as he is, still imperfectly cleared from his primitive dens, in his cruelty,

in his goodness, in his egoism, in his altruism, in the pathos of the evils which he endures and the evils to which he himself subjects his kind—we take him fallible, contradictory, grouping toward he knows not what better things, and we enlighten him and we enlarge him, we mitigate the evil of him and fortify him in the good, and we liberate him and we justify him and, partaker of the bestial règime of force as he is, we lead him toward an approximation greater and still greater of a superior justice. And every day marks a little more of disinterestedness, a little more of nobility, of goodness, of beauty, and of a new power over himself and over the external world.

Part IV
ITALY

MAZZINI

TO THE YOUNG MEN OF ITALY[1]

(1848)

Born in 1805, died in 1872; arrested in 1830, but released for want of evidence to secure conviction; lived abroad and conducted agitations for the liberation of Italy; in 1848 returned to become a member of the short-lived triumvirate; organized insurrections afterward, but played a subordinate part in the unification effected under Victor Emmanuel in 1861.

WHEN I was commissioned by you, young men, to proffer in this temple a few words consecrated to the memory of the brothers Bandiéra, and their fellow martyrs at Cosenza, I thought some one of those who heard me might, perhaps, exclaim, with noble indignation: "Why thus lament over the dead? The martyrs of liberty can be worthily honored only by winning the battle they began. Cosenza, the land where they fell, is enslaved; Venice, the city of their birth, is begirt with strangers. Let us emancipate

[1] From an address at Milan on the 25th of July, 1848, delivered by request at a solemn commemoration of the death of the brothers Bandiéri and others at Cosenza. Contemporary translation revised for this collection.

Attilio and Emilio Bandiéra, natives of Naples and sons of Admiral Bandiéra, attempted to effect a rising of patriots on the Calabrian coast in 1844, and were arrested and executed by the Neapolitan government at Cosenza.

Before the walls of Cosenza died Alaric, king of the West Goths in 410, after having twice sacked Rome.

them; and, until that moment, let no words pass our lips, save those of war."

But another thought arose, and suggested to me the inquiry, Why have we not conquered? Why is it that, while our countrymen are fighting for independence in the North, liberty is perishing in the South? Why is it that a war which should have sprung to the Alps with the bound of a lion has dragged itself along for four months with the slow, uncertain motion of the scorpion surrounded by a circle of fire? How has the rapid and powerful intuition of a people newly arisen to life been converted into the weary, helpless effort of a sick man, turning from side to side?

Ah, had we all arisen strong in the sanctity of the idea for which our martyrs died; had the holy standard of their faith inspired our youth to battle; had we made of our every thought an action, and of our every action a thought; had we learned from them that liberty and independence are one, we should not now have war, but victory! Cosenza would not be compelled to venerate the memory of her martyrs in secret, nor Venice be restrained from honoring them with a monument. We, here gathered together, then might gladly invoke those sacred names without uncertainty as to our future destiny or a cloud of sadness on our brows; and we might say to those precursor souls: "Rejoice, for your spirit is incarnate in your brethren, and they are worthy of you." Could Attilio and Emilio

Bandiéra and their fellow martyrs now rise from the grave and speak to you, they would, believe me, address you, tho with a power very different from that which is given to me, in counsel not unlike that which I now utter.

Love is the flight of the soul toward God: toward the great, the sublime, and the beautiful, which are the shadows of God upon earth. Love your family; the partner of your life; those around you, ready to share your joys and sorrows; the dead who were dear to you, and to whom you were dear. Love your country. It is your name, your glory, your sign among the peoples. Give to it your thought, your counsel, your blood. You are twenty-four millions of men, endowed with active and splendid faculties; with a tradition of glory which is the envy of the nations of Europe. An immense future is before you. Your eyes are raised to the loveliest heaven, and around you smiles the loveliest land in Europe. You are encircled by the Alps and the sea, boundaries marked out by the finger of God for a people of giants.

And you must be such, or nothing. Let not a man of that twenty-four millions remain excluded from the fraternal bond which shall join you together; let not a look be raised to heaven which is not that of a free man. Love humanity. You can only ascertain your own mission from the aim placed by God before humanity at large. Beyond the Alps, beyond the sea, are other peoples, now fighting, or preparing to fight, the holy

fight of independence, of nationality, of liberty; other peoples striving by different routes to reach the same goal. Unite with them and they will unite with you.

And, young men, love and reverence the Ideal; that is the country of the spirit, the city of the soul, in which all are brethren who believe in the inviolability of thought, and in the dignity of our immortal natures. From that high sphere spring the principles which alone can redeem peoples. Love enthusiasm—the pure dreams of the virgin soul, and the lofty visions of early youth; for they are the perfume of Paradise, which the soul preserves in issuing from the hands of its Creator. Respect, above all things, your conscience; have upon your lips the truth that God has placed in your hearts; and, while working together in harmony in all that tends to the emancipation of our soil, even with those who differ from you, yet ever bear erect your own banner, and boldly promulgate your faith.

Such words, young men, would the martyrs of Cosenza have spoken had they been living among you. And here, where, perhaps, invoked by our love, their holy spirits hover near us, I call upon you to gather them up in your hearts, and to make of them a treasure amid the storms that yet threaten you, but which, with the name of our martyrs on your lips, and their faith in your hearts, you will overcome. God be with you and bless Italy!

GARIBALDI

TO HIS SOLDIERS[1]

(1860)

Born in 1807, died in 1882; exiled in 1834, he went to South America, and in 1850 came to the United States; commanded an independent corps in the war against Austria in 1859; organized the expedition against Sicily in 1860; expelled Francis II. from Naples; organized expeditions against Rome in 1862 and 1867, but was defeated; commanded a French force in 1870 against Germany.

We must now consider the period which is just drawing to a close as almost the last stage of our national resurrection, and prepare ourselves to finish worthily the marvelous design of the elect of twenty generations, the completion of which Providence has reserved for this fortunate age.

Yes, young men, Italy owes to you an undertaking which has merited the applause of the universe. You have conquered and you will conquer still, because you are prepared for the tactics that decide the fate of battles. You are not unworthy the men who entered the ranks of a Macedonian phalanx, and who contended not in vain with the proud conquerors of Asia. To this wonderful page in our country's history

[1] Delivered late in 1860 on his departure from Naples after having relinquished into the hands of Victor Emmanuel his dictatorship over the Neapolitan provinces. Given here as reported in the London *Times*.

another more glorious still will be added, and the slave shall show at last to his free brothers a sharpened sword forged from the links of his fetters.

To arms, then, all of you! all of you! And the oppressors and the mighty shall disappear like dust. You, too, women, cast away all the cowards from your embraces; they will give you only cowards for children, and you who are the daughters of the land of beauty must bear children who are noble and brave. Let timid doctrinaires depart from among us to carry their servility and their miserable fears elsewhere. This people is its own master. It wishes to be the brother of other peoples, but to look on the insolent with a proud glance, not to grovel before them imploring its own freedom. It will no longer follow in the trail of men whose hearts are foul. No! No! No!

Providence has presented Italy with Victor Emmanuel. Every Italian should rally round him. By the side of Victor Emmanuel every quarrel should be forgotten, all rancor depart. Once more I repeat my battle-cry: "To arms, all —all of you!" If March, 1861, does not find one million of Italians in arms, then alas for liberty, alas for the life of Italy. Ah, no, far be from me a thought which I loathe like poison. March of 1861, or if need be February, will find us all at our post—Italians of Calatafimi, Palermo, Ancona, the Volturno, Castelfidardo, and Isernia, and with us every man of this land

who is not a coward or a slave. Let all of us rally round the glorious hero of Palestro[1] and give the last blow to the crumbling edifice of tyranny. Receive, then, my gallant young volunteers, at the honored conclusion of ten battles, one word of farewell from me.[2]

I utter this word with deepest affection and from the very bottom of my heart. To-day I am obliged to retire, but for a few days only. The hour of battle will find me with you again, by the side of the champions of Italian liberty. Let those only return to their homes who are called by the imperative duties which they owe to their families, and those who by their glorious wounds have deserved the credit of their country. These, indeed, will serve Italy in their homes by their counsel, by the very aspect of the scars which adorn their youthful brows. Apart from these, let all others remain to guard our glorious banners. We shall meet again before long to march together to the redemption of our brothers who are still slaves of the stranger. We shall meet again before long to march to new triumphs.

[1] A village of Northern Italy where in 1859, between the Battles of Montebello and Magenta, the Sardinians, under Victor Emmanuel, and aided by the French, defeated the army of Austria.

[2] Francis II. was besieged at his stronghold of Gaeta early in 1861, and on February 13 surrendered to Victor Emmanuel.

CAVOUR

ROME AS THE CAPITAL OF UNITED ITALY[1]

(1861)

Born in 1810, died in 1861; entered the Sardinian Parliament in 1848; became Prime Minister in 1852; joined the Alliance in the Crimean War; acted with Napoleon III. in 1858-59 in the war against Austria; secretly supported the expedition of Garibaldi of 1860; secured the unification of Italy under Victor Emmanuel in 1861.

ROME should be the capital of Italy. Without the acceptance of this premise by Italy and all Europe there can be no solution of the Roman question. If any one could conceive of a united Italy having any degree of stability, without Rome for its capital, I would declare the Roman question difficult, if not impossible, of solution. And why have we the right, the duty of insisting that Rome shall be united to Italy? Because without Rome as the capital of Italy, Italy can not exist. This truth being felt instinctively by all Italians, and asserted abroad by all who judge

[1] Delivered early in 1861, and one of the last of Cavour's speeches. On February 18 the first Italian Parliament had met at Turin. Cavour urged with all his power that Rome should be made the permanent capital. In May a vote to that effect was passed, but Cavour did not live to see the transfer made. He died on June 6 following the vote. A contemporary translation revised for this collection.

Italian affairs impartially, needs no demonstration. It is upheld by the judgment of nations.

And yet, gentlemen, this truth is susceptible of a very simple proof. Italy has still much to do before it will rest upon a staple basis; much to do in solving the grave problems raised by unification; much to do in overcoming the obstacles which time-honored traditions have opposed to this great undertaking. And if this end must be compassed, it is essential that there shall be no cause of dissidence or of failure. Until the question of the capital of Italy is determined, there will be endless discords among the different provinces.

It is easy to understand how persons of good faith, cultured and talented, are now suggesting, some on historical, others on artistic grounds, the advisability of establishing the capital in some other city. Such a discussion is quite comprehensible now, but if Italy already had her capital in Rome, do you think this question would be even possible? Assuredly not. Even those who are now opposed to transferring the capital to Rome, would not dream of removing it if it were once established there. Therefore, it is only by proclaiming Rome the capital of Italy that we can put an end to these dissensions among ourselves.

I am grieved that men of eminence and genius, men who have rendered glorious service to the cause of Italian unity, should drag this question into the field of debate and discuss it with—

dare I say it?—puerile arguments. The question of the capital, gentlemen, is not determined by climate, or topography, nor even by strategical considerations. If these things affected the selection, I think I might safely say that London would not be the capital of England, nor, perhaps, Paris of France. The selection of the capital is determined by great moral reasons. It is the will of the people that decides a question touching them so closely.

In Rome, gentlemen, are united all the circumstances, whether historic, intellectual, or moral, that should determine the site of the capital. Rome is the only city with traditions not purely local. The entire history of Rome from the time of Cæsar to the present day is the history of a city whose importance reaches far beyond her confines; of a city destined to be one of the capitals of the world. Convinced, profoundly convinced, of this truth, I feel constrained to declare it solemnly to you and to the nation, and I feel bound to appeal in this matter to the patriotism of every citizen of Italy, and to the representatives of her most eminent cities, that discussions may cease, and that he who represents the nation before other powers may be able to proclaim that the necessity of having Rome as the capital is recognized by all the nation. I think I am justified in making this appeal even to those who, for reasons which I respect, differ from me on this point. Yet more; I can assume no Spartan indifference in the matter. I say frankly that

it will be a deep grief to me to tell my native city that she must renounce resolutely and definitively all hope of being the seat of government.

As far as I am personally concerned, it is no pleasure to go to Rome. Having little artistic taste, I feel sure that in the midst of the splendid monuments of ancient and modern Rome I shall lament the plain and unpoetic streets of my native town. But one thing I can say with confidence: knowing the character of my fellow citizens; knowing from actual facts how ready they have always been to make the greatest sacrifices for the sacred cause of Italy; knowing their willingness to make sacrifices when their city was invaded by the enemy, and knowing their promptness and energy in its defense; knowing all this, I have no fear that they will not uphold me when, in their name and as their deputy, I say that Turin is ready to make this great sacrifice for the interests of a united Italy.

I am comforted by the hope—I may even say the certainty—that when Italy shall have established the seat of government in the Eternal City, she will not be ungrateful to this land which was the cradle of liberty; to this land in which was sown that germ of independence which, maturing rapidly and branching out, has now reached forth its tendrils from Sicily to the Alps. I have said and I repeat: Rome, and Rome only, should be the capital of Italy.

But here begin the difficulties. We must go to Rome, but there are two conditions. We must

go there in concert with France, otherwise the union of Rome with the rest of Italy would be interpreted by the great mass of Catholics, within Italy and without it, as the signal of the slavery of the Church. We must go, therefore, to Rome in such a way that the true independence of the pontiff shall not be diminished. We must go to Rome, but the civil power must not extend to spiritual things. These are the two conditions that must be fulfilled if united Italy is to exist.

At the risk of being considered utopian, I believe that when the proclamation of the principles which I have just declared, and when the indorsement of them that you will give shall become known and considered at Rome and in the Vatican, I believe, I say, that those Italian fibers which the reactionary party has, as yet, been unable to remove from the heart of Pius IX. will again vibrate, and that there will be accomplished the greatest act that any people have yet performed. And so it shall be given to the same generation not only to have restored a nation, but to have done what is yet greater, yet more sublime—an act of which the influence is incalculable, and which is to have reconciled the papacy with the civil power, to have made peace between Church and State, between the spirit of religion and the great principles of liberty. Yes, I hope that it will be given us to compass these two great acts which will most assuredly carry to the most distant posterity the worthiness of the present generation of Italians.

Part V

MODERN GERMANY, HUNGARY AND SPAIN

FREDERICK THE GREAT

I

TO HIS GENERALS BEFORE INVADING SILESIA[1]

(1740)

Born in 1712, died in 1786; became King of Prussia and invaded Silesia in 1740; defeated the Austrians in 1741, 1742 and 1745; invaded Saxony, beginning the Seven Years' War in 1756; defeated the Austrians in 1756; invaded Bohemia in 1757; defeated the Austrians at Prague, but himself defeated at Kolin and driven out of Bohemia in 1757; in the same year defeated the French at Rossbach and the Austrians at Leuthen; defeated the Russians at Zorndorf in 1758, but himself defeated at Kunersdorf in 1759, his fortunes being now reduced to their lowest ebb; finally, through changes in political relations, he, in 1763, concluded a treaty with Austria which secured what he formerly had gained and then had lost, and in 1772 he joined in the partition of Poland.

GENTLEMEN, I am undertaking a war in which I have no allies but your valor and your good will. My cause is just; my resources are what we ourselves can do; and the issue lies in fortune. Remember continually the glory which your an-

[1] Delivered on December 11, 1740, the year in which he became king, and only a day or two before he marched into Silesia. "The king assembled his chief generals," says Carlyle, "all things ready out in the Frankfort-Crossen region yonder." Reprinted from Carlyle's "Frederick the Great," by permission of Chapman & Hall, the English publishers.

cestors acquired in the plain of Warsaw, at Fehrbellin and in the expedition to Preussen. Your lot is in your own hands: distinctions and rewards await upon your fine actions which shall merit them.

But what need have I to excite you to glory? It is the one thing you keep before your eyes; the sole object worthy of your labor. We are going to front troops, who, under Prince Eugene, had the highest reputation. Tho Prince Eugene is gone,[1] we shall have to measure our strength against brave soldiers; the greater will be the honor if we can conquer. Adieu. Go forth. I will follow you straightway to the rendezvous of glory which awaits you.

[1] This famous Austrian general, who shares with Marlborough the glory of Blenheim and Malplaquet, had died in 1736.

II

TO HIS GENERALS BEFORE THE BATTLE OF LEUTHEN[1]

(1757)

IT is not unknown to you, gentlemen, what disasters have befallen here while we were busy with the French and Reichs army. Schweidnitz is gone; Duke of Bevern beaten; Breslau gone, and all our war stores there; a good part of Silesia gone; and in fact my embarrassment would be at the impossible pitch, had not I boundless trust in you and your qualities which have been so often manifested as soldiers and sons of your country. Hardly one among you but has distinguished himself by some nobly memorable action: all these services to the State and to me I know well and will never forget.

I flatter myself, therefore, that, in this case, too, nothing will be wanting which the State has a right to expect of your valor. The hour is at hand. I should think I had done nothing if I left the Austrians in possession of Silesia. Let me apprise you, then: I intend, in spite of the rules of art, to attack Prince Karl's army, which is nearly twice our strength, wherever I find it.

[1] Delivered at Parchnitz on December 3, 1757, after defeating the French at Rossbach in November. The tide in Frederick's fortunes had now turned, and on December 5 rose to a flood in the victory of Leuthen, by which the Austrians were driven from Silesia. "An authentic meeting, this at Parchnitz," says Carlyle, "and the words were taken down."

The question is not of his numbers or the strength of his position; all this by courage, by the skill of our methods, we will try to make good. This step I must risk, or everything is lost. We must beat the enemy, or perish all of us before his batteries. So I read the case; so I will act in it.

Make this, my determination, known to all officers of the army: prepare the men for what work is now to ensue and say that I hold myself entitled to demand exact fulfilment of orders. For you, when I reflect that you are Prussians, can I think that you will act unworthily? But if there should be one or another who dreads to share all dangers with me, he can have his discharge this evening, and shall not suffer the least reproach from me![1] Hah! I knew it[2]; none of you would desert me. I depend on your help, then, and on victory as sure.

The cavalry regiment that does not on this instant, on orders given, dash full plunge into the enemy, I will, directly after the battle, unhorse and make it a garrison regiment. The infantry battalion which, meet with what it may, shows the least sign of hesitancy, loses its colors and its sabers, and I cut the trimmings from its uniform! Now, good night, gentlemen: shortly we have either beaten the enemy, or we never see one another again.

[1] Carlyle says that at this point Frederick gave "an interrogative look and paused for an answer," which came "as a modest, strong, bass murmur, meaning, 'no, by the Eternal!'"

[2] Spoken, says Carlyle, "with his most radiant smile."

BISMARCK

THE CANOSSA SPEECH[1]

(1872)

Born in 1815, died in 1898; entered Prussian Landtag in 1847; Ambassador to the Frankfurt Diet in 1851; Ambassador to Russia in 1859, and to France in 1862; Prussian Prime Minister in 1862; a leader in the Schleswig-Holstein War of 1864 and the Austrian War of 1866; Chancellor of the North German Confederation in 1867, and after the war with France, of the German Empire in 1871; presided at the Berlin Congress in 1878; resigned as Chancellor in 1890.

I AM glad that no motion has been introduced to cancel this item. Notwithstanding all that has come and gone, it would be inexpedient to suspend diplomatic relations with the pope. In the first place, the diplomatic representative whose salary I recommend you to grant is a public servant whose intercession may every now and then be indispensable to protect the interest of German subjects; and, secondly, which is a much more important consideration, there is no foreign sovereign except the pope—at any rate, as

[1] Reprinted from the report telegraphed to the London *Times* on the day it was delivered, the translation having been revised for this collection. This version is believed to be more interesting than the one printed subsequently, after Bismarck had revised it. The occasion of the speech was an item in the Budget, setting apart 19,350 thalers for the German embassy to the Vatican. A suggestion had been made that the embassy be abolished, because the pope had declined to receive Cardinal Prince Hohenlohe after his nomination to the embassy.

the law at present stands—who is entitled to exercise a sort of almost royal prerogative within the territory of this empire.

Such being the case, we are naturally interested in supplying that spiritual potentate with correct particulars of what is going on among us and enabling him to form an exact and impartial opinion about current events before he undertakes to pronounce judgment upon them. We have good reason to believe that the pope has hitherto not been very well informed about certain occurrences in Germany, and we have therefore thought it right to appoint a minister to his person who, had he been accepted, on account of his high ecclesiastical rank and long intimacy with the occupant of the Holy See, would have had rare opportunity of conveying our own version of things to his ears. This was our sole object in this nomination, rejected, I am sorry to say, by Pius IX.

As to the other intentions attributed to us by those who approve, as well as by the less lenient critics who censured the appointment, they have never existed. Depend upon it, in nominating a cardinal as our representative at Rome, we neither hoped to talk the pope over to our way of thinking, nor did we at all wish to signify our willingness to repeat a certain ceremony enacted centuries ago at Canossa.[1]

[1] This remark created an immediate sensation in Berlin, which was soon echoed from every capital in Europe. It may be explained here that at Canossa, in northern Italy, occurred in 1077 the cele-

We were neither confident enough to expect that our representative, be he who he might, would succeed in shaking those strong convictions which have induced his holiness to adopt his recent attitude toward us and the world at large; nor could we, after the new dogmas promulgated by him, think of concluding a concordat with the possessor of supernatural wisdom and power. In point of fact, I am sorry to say, after the prerogative lately assumed by the pope, that no government which is not prepared to see the secular power annihilated and placed under spiritual jurisdiction, will consent to conclude a concordat.

All, therefore, we could have meant to effect by sending Cardinal Prince Hohenlohe to Rome was to let the pope know the real bearings of the case and to keep him *au courant* of events going on in this country. For reasons which the pope has failed to explain, he has declined to give to our choice that sanction which courtesy requires us to ask for. A refusal of this kind has not often been recorded in the annals of diplomacy. I have been nearly ten years at the head of the foreign office and twenty-one years in domestic employment, but I do not remember a single analogous case.

I do, indeed, recollect that the expediency of recalling an envoy or minister has been suggested by the power to which the objectionable repre-

brated penance of the German emperor, Henry IV., before Pope Gregory VII.

sentative was accredited, but this has never happened unless he had given special cause for dissatisfaction in the discharge of his official duties, and has hardly ever been proposed otherwise than by private communication addressed by one sovereign to another. The present untoward incident is quite different. Cardinal Prince Hohenlohe has been rejected even before leaving Berlin. He has been rejected by a brief note from a papal minister to the German *chargé d'affaires*; nay, he has been rejected without any reasons being alleged for such an extreme step.

But however much I may regret this extraordinary step on the part of the Holy See, I do think we should not be justified in resenting it by a suspension of diplomatic intercourse. We owe it to our Catholic fellow subjects to continue our endeavors to define in a friendly and pacific way the line which separates the secular from the spiritual power. At the same time, we consider it our duty to proceed with the utmost caution in order to spare the feelings of the religious, and endeavor to convince the pope of our temperate and conciliatory views. Therefore, I shall deem it incumbent upon me to advise his majesty the emperor, to select some other representative to the Vatican, who, tho he may not be equally efficacious as the last nominee would have been, shall still possess the confidence of both powers sufficiently for the purpose of his office. I must not, however, conceal that our task has been rendered very difficult by what has occurred.[1]

The member for Meppen has been somewhat too hard on Cardinal Hohenlohe. As for his defining the relations between pope and cardinal as those between master and servant, I beg to ask one so deeply versed in ecclesiastical history whether Cardinals Mazarin and Richelieu, when prime ministers of France, were the employees of the pope or the advisors and ministers of their respective sovereigns. I should like to hear from the profound student of ecclesiastical history I make no doubt Herr Windhorst is, whether the two cardinals just mentioned, in their stiff little tiffs with the curia, conducted themselves as representatives of the papal view or vindicated the royal interests of France. There is, then, some difference between a Roman cardinal and a German adjutant-general, tho for the matter of that, if the pope should be good enough to appoint an adjutant-general of his German majesty as his nuncio at Berlin, I for one would counsel his majesty to approve the appointment and to ratify so excellent and most acceptable a choice.

The concordat which Herr Windhorst supposes will settle our difficulties with the pope is, if my

[1] The London *Times* correspondent says at this point: "Herr Windhorst, an ultramontane, replied to Prince Bismarck's speech, saying that Cardinal Hohenlohe 'was the servant of the pope and should have asked his master's permission to become the German representative at the Vatican before accepting that office; and likened the appointment of a cardinal to the embassy at Rome to the appointment of a German adjutant-general to the pope as his nuncio at Berlin.' To Herr Windhorst Prince Bismarck then devoted the remainder of his speech."

views are acted out, not likely to be concluded. I am not at this moment at liberty to speak for the federal council of the empire on the subject under discussion, but I may tell the preceding speaker that as far as Prussia is concerned the Prussian cabinet are determined to take measures which shall henceforth make it impossible for Prussians who are priests of the Roman Catholic church to assert with impunity that they will be guided by canon law rather than by Prussian law. We shall maintain the legislative power against all comers. We shall bring it home to those not acknowledging our laws that by obeying foreign law in preference to our own, they are placing themselves beyond the pale of Prussian law.

Having said this to Herr Windhorst in my capacity as Prussian minister, it remains for me to answer his taunts as to the stability of the Protestant Church as a Protestant and an evangelical Christian. If he fancies that the Protestant Church would not survive separation from the State, all that I can tell him is that to my sincere regret he has not realized the true spirit of the Gospel.

KOSSUTH

ON HIS WELCOME TO NEW YORK[1]

(1851)

Born in 1802, died in 1894; Member of the Hungarian Diet from 1832 to 1836; imprisoned by Austria from 1837 to 1840; Minister of Finance in 1848; Governor of Hungary on the Declaration of Independence in 1849; resigned in the same year and went into exile, visiting the United States in 1851.

LET me, before I go to work, have some hours of rest upon this soil of freedom, your happy home. Freedom and home; what heavenly music in those two words! Alas! I have no home, and the freedom of my people is downtrodden. Young Giant of free America, do not tell me that thy shores are an asylum to the oppressed and a home to the homeless exile. An asylum it is; but all the blessings of your glorious country, can they drown into oblivion the longing of the heart and the fond desires for our native land? My beloved native land! thy very sufferings make thee but dearer to my heart; thy bleeding image dwells with me when I wake, as

[1] From his first speech after landing in America in December, 1851. After Kossuth escaped to Turkey, Austria and Russia had demanded his extradition, but Turkey, supported by France and England, refused it. In September, at the instance of England and the United States, he was liberated and taken to Gibraltar on board the United States frigate, the *Mississippi*, which had been sent for the purpose. From Gibraltar he sailed for England and thence came afterward to the United States.

it rests with me in the short moments of my restless sleep. It has accompanied me over the waves. It will accompany me when I go back to fight over again the battle of thy freedom once more. I have no idea but thee; I have no feeling but thee.

Even here, with this prodigious view of greatness, freedom, and happiness which spreads before my astonished eyes, my thoughts are wandering toward home; and when I look over these thousands of thousands before me, the happy inheritance of yonder freedom for which your fathers fought and bled—and when I turn to you, citizens, to bow before the majesty of the United States, and to thank the people of New York for their generous share in my liberation, and for the unparalleled honor of this reception—I see, out of the very midst of this great assemblage, rise the bleeding image of Hungary, looking to you with anxiety, whether there be in the luster of your eyes a ray of hope for her; whether there be in the thunder of your huzzas a trumpet-call of resurrection. If there were no such ray of hope in your eyes, and no such trumpet-call in your cheers, then woe to Europe's oppressed nations. They will stand alone in the hour of need. Less fortunate than you were, they will meet no brother's hand to help them in the approaching giant struggle against the leagued despots of the world; and woe, also, to me. I will feel no joy even here; and the days of my stay here will turn out to

be lost to my fatherland—lost at the very time when every moment is teeming in the decision of Europe's destiny.

Gentlemen, I have to thank the people, Congress, and government of the United States for my liberation from captivity. Human tongue has no words to express the bliss which I felt, when I—the downtrodden Hungary's wandering chief—saw the glorious flag of the Stripes and Stars fluttering over my head—when I first bowed before it with deep respect—when I saw around me the gallant officers and the crew of the *Mississippi* frigate—the most of them the worthiest representatives of true American principles, American greatness, American generosity—and to think that it was not a mere chance which cast the Star-spangled Banner around me, but that it was your protecting will—to know that the United States of America, conscious of their glorious calling, as well as of their power, declared, by this unparalleled act, to be resolved to become the protectors of human rights—to see a powerful vessel of America coming to far Asia to break the chains by which the mightiest despots of Europe fettered the activity of an exiled Magyar, whose very name disturbed the proud security of their sleep—to feel restored by such a protection, and, in such a way, to freedom, and by freedom to activity; you may be well aware of what I have felt, and still feel, at the remembrance of this proud moment of my life. Others spoke—you acted; and I was free! You acted;

and at this act of yours, tyrants trembled; humanity shouted out with joy; the downtrodden people of Magyars—the downtrodden, but not broken—raised their heads with resolution and with hope, and the brilliancy of your Stars was greeted by Europe's oppressed nations as the morning star of rising liberty. Now, gentlemen, you must be aware how boundless the gratitude must be which I feel for you.

Humble as I am, God, the Almighty, has selected me to represent the cause of humanity before you. My warrant to this capacity is written in the sympathy and confidence of all who are oppressed, and of all who, as your elder brother, the people of Britain, sympathize with the oppressed—my warrant to this capacity is written in the hopes and expectations you have entitled the world to entertain, by liberating me out of my prison, and by restoring me to activity. But it has pleased the Almighty to make out of my humble self yet another opportunity for a thing which may prove a happy turning-point in the destinies of the world. I bring you a brotherly greeting from the people of Great Britain. I speak not in official character, imparted by diplomacy, whose secrecy is the curse of the world, but I am the harbinger of the public spirit of the people, which has the right to impart a direction to its government, and which I witnessed, pronouncing itself in the most decided manner, openly—that the people of England, united to you with enlightened brotherly

love, as it is united in blood—conscious of your strength, as it is conscious of its own, has forever abandoned every sentiment of irritation and rivalry, and desires the brotherly alliance of the United States to secure to every nation the sovereign right to dispose of itself, and to protect the sovereign right of nations against the encroaching arrogance of despots; and leagued to you against the league of despots, to stand together, with you, godfather to the approaching baptism of European liberty.

I came not to your glorious shores to enjoy a happy rest—I came not with the intention to gather triumphs of personal distinction, but because a humble petitioner, in my country's name, as its freely chosen constitutional chief, humbly to entreat your generous aid; and then it is to this aim that I will devote every moment of my time, with the more assiduity, with the more restlessness, as every moment may bring a report of events which may call me to hasten to my place on the battle-field, where the great, and I hope, the last battle will be fought between liberty and despotism—a moment marked by the finger of God to be so near that every hour of delay of your generous aid may prove fatally disastrous to oppressed humanity. And, thus having stated my position to be that of a humble petitioner in the name of my oppressed country, let me respectfully ask: Do you not regret to have bestowed upon me the high honor of this glorious reception, unparalleled in history?

I say unparalleled in history, tho I know that your fathers have welcomed Lafayette in a similar way; but Lafayette had mighty claims to your country's gratitude. He had fought in your ranks for your freedom and independence; and, what was still more, in the hour of your need he was the link of your friendly connection with France—a connection the results of which were two French fleets of more than thirty-eight men-of-war and three thousand gallant men, who fought side by side with you against Cornwallis, before Yorktown; the precious gift of twenty-four thousands muskets; a loan of nineteen millions of dollars; and even the preliminary treaties of your glorious peace negotiated at Paris by your immortal Franklin. I hope the people of the United States, now itself in the happy condition to aid those who are in need of aid, as itself was once in need, will kindly remember these facts; and you, citizens of New York, you will yourselves become the Lafayettes of Hungary. Lafayette had great claims to your love and sympathy, but I have none. I came a humble petitioner, with no other claims than those which the oppressed have to the sympathy of freemen who have the power to help, with the claim which the unfortunate has to the happy, and the downtrodden has to the protection of eternal justice and of human rights. In a word, I have no other claims than those which the oppressed principle of freedom has to the aid of victorious liberty.

CASTELAR

PLEA FOR A REPUBLIC IN SPAIN[1]

(1869)

Born in 1832, died in 1899; after the uprising of 1866, fled from Spain; became a Republican leader in 1868; Foreign Minister in 1873; later in the same year President of the Executive.

BEFORE replying to Minister Sagasta's speech, I desire to say that my public life forbids me to defend myself against personal attacks such as the gentleman seems to delight in. The minister of government was extremely kind in speaking of my address as brilliant, but extremely severe when he declared it to be wanting in truth. Neither criticism was just. Gentlemen, I should not have to defend my own speeches if they had the splendor and beauty attributed to them by Mr. Sagasta. I should be content to let them shine, confident, with the most eloquent and greatest of ancient philosophers that "Beauty is the splendor of truth."

After all, if there be any grand quality in this Assembly it is eloquence—the expression of grand sentiments and sublime ideas in fervent language. I have heard such speeches come

[1] From a speech delivered in the Spanish Cortes, December 18, 1869, when Castelar was one of the few Republicans who had been returned to that body. A contemporary translation revised for this collection.

from every side of the Assembly and I should like to hear one, in the language of moderation, from the government. Discussions carried on in that manner, with eloquence and good judgment, give us hope for the future; for the laws of history do not permit a dictatorship to fasten itself upon a people whose faces are lighted by the fires of eloquence.

Mr. Sagasta defended the dictatorship, and in doing so he drew an awful picture of our social condition, talking of crimes and criminals, and telling you that our education in the past had been very bad, and that the corruption of to-day was very great. And what have the republicans to learn from that? For three centuries, yes, more than three centuries, our Church has been an enemy to the human conscience.

For many centuries it has been inimical to the national will. Consequently, if there is anything very bad or vicious here to-day, it is owing to institutions with which we have nothing to do. And more, this evil, this viciousness, owe their existence to a lack of respect among the people for law. This lack of respect for law is born of the systematic abuse of power by our arbitrary government. Judges nominated by a party and appointed to revise the electoral lists; schools, so-called, for filling convents and military barracks; the jury outlawed; public life closed to the democracy; political corruption extending from above down

in all directions—this is the product, and these are the products, of a sore and wounded people painted by Mr. Sagasta, people who are the natural offspring of a long heredity of crime and error. It is impossible to cure the people if the system be not changed.

Well, deputies, what form of government has come to Spain since the September revolution? The republican form has come and is still here. It so happens that you have not been able yet to implant monarchical institutions in its place. After being fifteen days in power you declared yourselves for the monarchy. Did the monarchy come? After the elections you declared yourselves monarchists and us outlaws. Did you create the monarchy in the primaries? When the Assembly convened, the monarchy was proposed. There we had great battles. Has the monarchy been established? The Conservatives, altho they have not said so, have, I believe, agreed upon a candidate; the Radicals, more loquacious, have named theirs; but have you, separated or united, produced a monarchy?

The Conservatives have a candidate who really represents the latest privilege granted to the middle classes. Why is it that they do not bring him here? Because they know that this is a democratic monarchy, based, as it is nominally, on universal suffrage, and because the candidate has not had, and never will have, the votes, the indorsement, the backing of the people. And you? You want a monarchy to keep

up appearances; a monarchy in order that Europe may say: "See how prudent, how God-fearing, how wise, how intelligent are the Spaniards: they have a disguised republic!"

After a provisional government and a provisional regency you want a provisional monarchy also. You do not expect or want to be strong in the right, in liberty, in the will of the people or in national sovereignty. All you want is a king who shall represent the predominance and the egotism of a party. You ought to know that as the candidate of the Conservatives can not come here without the consent of the people, your candidate can not come without the consent of the Conservatives. Do you believe that your candidate will last if all the Conservative forces do not support him? Notwithstanding all that the Conservatives have declared to their representatives here, not one of them has said that he renounces his dynastic faith. Therefore, deputies, you can not establish the monarchy.

On Saturday, I pictured to you, in colors more or less vivid, the prestige which monarchical institutions have enjoyed in our country, and for this the minister of state upbraided me without understanding my arguments. I ask you to concentrate your attention for a moment upon the parallel which I am going to present and which may be called a summary of this speech. I said the other afternoon that to establish monarchical institutions it was necessary to possess monarchical faith and sentiment. One

must have the poetry and the traditions of monarchy. I said this because I know that, altho the Assembly, and the official authorities can make laws, they can not decree ideas or sentiments, those real and solid foundations of institutions. Formerly, in other times, kings were representative of the national dignity, and now from those same benches we have heard that they sold their native soil to a foreigner and even prostrated themselves at his feet, the people in the meantime answering the enemy with the 2d of May and the siege of Saragossa.

Formerly art sketched the apotheosis of Charles V. with Titian's brush, or the ladies-in-waiting of Philip VI. with the brush of Velasquez. Now it sketches the image of the communists of Paris, of the victims of Charles V., or the ship in which the Puritans took the soul of a republic to the bosom of virgin America. Formerly, the gala days of the people were the birthdays of kings and the anniversaries of the beginning of their reigns. Now, the great days of celebration are the 10th of August, the 30th of July, the 24th of February, and the 29th of September—days which mark the expulsion of kings. Formerly, when a navigator landed in America, or an explorer went into the interior of a new country, the purest piece of gold, the largest pearl, the clearest diamond was reserved for the king. Now, your minister of the treasury claims from the king even the clasp which holds the royal mantle about his shoulders.

As there is no possibility of establishing the monarchy, as no candidate acceptable to all can be found, it is necessary, it is indispensable to get rid of the suspense, and I say that we should establish a republic. Have you not said that the forms of government are accidental? Gentlemen, you know the republic I want. It is a federal republic. I shall aways defend the federal republic. I am a federal, but, deputies, understand one thing: the republic is a form of government which admits many conditions, and which has many grades. From the Republic of Venice to that of Switzerland there is an immense scale. Adjoining Mexico, where Church and States are separated, there is Guatemala, where the clergy have great power. Close to the decentralized and federal Argentine Republic is the Chilian Republic, another decentralized country enjoying great prosperity, its paper money being quoted in all the markets of Europe as high as that of England.

Consequently, amid this great affliction, this trouble, this unstable equilibrium, which surrounds you, you can establish a form of government which is of the people and for the people, a form in harmony with the institutions you have proclaimed, and with the sentiment which all of you guard in the bottom of your hearts.

Have you not observed in history the inability of an assembly or any other power to establish a form of government in conflict with great

ideas? Remember the eighteenth century. Never had a monarchy attained more power, never was absolutism so strong, never was the destruction of obstacles in the way of kings more complete. Philosophy ascended the throne with them, ascended with Charles III. and Aranda and Tombal. It ascended with Joseph I., with Frederick the Great, with Leopold of Tuscany. All seemed to conspire to establish the same idea, the idea of a philosophy and a liberalism. And did they succeed? No, they were the Baptists of the Revolution. They repented late, and the philosophy they had thrown at the feet of the thrones came to naught.

And what happened? Some were sentenced by the Assembly. The crowns of divine right were melted into cannon balls by the soldiers of the Revolution. What does this signify? That great powers can not place absolutism above philosophy any more than you can build monarchical institutions on individual rights. Therefore, I beseech you to establish the republic. You are assured of our patriotism, our great interest in the country, our abnegation. Cato committed suicide because he found a Cæsar. Radicals of Spain, do not commit suicide because you can not find a monarch.

APPONYI

ON THE DEATH OF LOUIS KOSSUTH[1]

(1894)

Born in 1846; of a family long distinguished in public affairs in Hungary; for many years leader of the National party in Hungary; President of the Hungarian House of Representatives in 1903; Delegate to the Interparliamentary Conference in London in 1906.

WE have to speak in the name of a mourning nation before a world filled with emotional sympathy. Who is the man who, after half a century's absence, holds just the same place in the heart of his people as when he was its ruler? Who is the man to whom all nations pay a tribute of respect such as no material power can command, poor outcast tho he was?

Who was Louis Kossuth?

This question is being answered now. The features of the living are obscured by the mist of controversy; in its shadows we perceive but the flickering lamplight of transient opinion. But there comes the sharp wind of death; it dispels the mist; it blows out the lamps; the sun of history is rising. In the clearness of that

[1] Delivered in the Hungarian House of Representatives, at Budapest, on March 23, 1894. At the conclusion of his speech, Count Apponyi moved a series of resolutions, providing for a public burial of Kossuth and for the erection of a statue to him. Translated for this collection by Count Apponyi himself in August, 1906, after his return to Hungary from the London Conference of the Interparliamentary Union.

night-born day we begin to see who Kossuth was.

Behold this nation before his hand was put to the wheel of her destinies. Was she a nation at all? Was she independent? Was she free? Was she a member of the great European family? In legal fiction, yes; but how in fact? In fact we see before us a shapeless multitude, torn by the conflicts of privilege and oppression, almost secluded from the great currents and the noble competition of the civilized world, having no independent government of its own, made subservient to a foreign power, uncertain even in its national self-consciousness, which now and then flashes up lightning-like in the patriotic outbursts of individuals, but has no firm hold on the masses; and, tho this people has a parliament, the power of that parliament hardly goes beyond the privilege of issuing impotent complaints—a picture, indeed, of decay and dissolution.

And now behold the present state of the country.

God be praised for what we became since. Tho very far still from the fulfilment of our destiny, we are a free nation strong in her unity, in the equality of her citizens; in the recognized power of her representation, a not unworthy sister of the greatest among civilized nations; conscious of our independence, we are governing ourselves in the spirit of liberty and progress; no aim appears too high for our legit-

imate ambition and undoubted possibilities. A picture, indeed, of hope and self-confidence.

Between these two states of a nation stands a man whose name was Louis Kossuth. Behold and compare: the difference says who he was; he found the former, he created the latter.

Not he alone; certainly not. It would be sin to be wanting in piety on that day devoted to piety, to express gratitude toward one great man by discarding gratitude due to other great men. There have been many of them as co-workers in the great work of regeneration; some with Kossuth, some against him, but animated all of them by the same holy spirit of patriotism.

Kossuth is one of the founders of our nation; he has made her secure of her independence and of her moral connection with the sister nations; he has made her an active agent in the great work of human progress and, by linking her destinies to the highest aspirations of our kind, has laid her future on a foundation of indestructible strength. His name is a symbol of our nation's worth to the world; of her racial individuality and of her task in universal history. There lies the secret of the veneration this name encounters throughout the world and of the gratitude and enthusiastic love it will never cease to pour forth from the hearts of our people.

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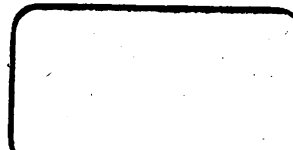
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